A PEOPLE'S REVOLT IN TRAVANCORE

A Backward Class Movement for Social Freedom

R. N. YESUDAS

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To

My Mother
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CONTENTS

		Page
	Foreword	
	Preface	
I	Introduction	1
II	The Dark Background	5
III	Protestantism and Change	49
IV	Persecution and Opposition	85
V	The People's Revolt	113
VI	Documnets	161

Bibliography

Glossary

Index

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FOREWORD

There are many aspects and problems of the social history of Kerala which require a historian's competent hand to provide satisfactory exposition. Even though we are not unaware of their existence, some of them are treated as mere episodes their causality, focus and issues mostly remaining in the realm of obscurity. That they did have deeper causes and cognizable effects is certain but the inquisitive minds of historians have not made them their subject of investigation. Facts are important only when they are used as raw-material for the reconstruction of the historical past, but they are unimportant and shorn of meaning as long as they are kept out of the historical narrative, without proper place being assigned to them by the historian in the scheme of his interpretation. It is the magic wand of the historian that makes the mute and still facts speak and vibrate with life. We have before us an historical problem that remained obscure for long, for want of a scholar to sponsor it and interpret it in a meaningful way.

The upper-cloth rebellion in South Travancore was dealt with in a cavalier fashion by some scholars in the past. The real significance of the episode seems to have escaped the attention of these authors. It may be due to their preoccupation with the whole history of Travancore or Kerala that they

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thought it unnecessary to enquire into a discussion of its nature and impingement. Mr. Yesudas' objective analysis of this seemingly minor episode invests it with a wider meaning and deeper significance in the social history not only of Travancore but of Kerala.

His *lief motif* is the idea of progress and its conquest of mature, entrenched habits and customs that produced forces retarding civilization in Kerala. Hindu orthodoxy thrived on social inequality and it strived to perpetuate that condition at all costs. The privileges of caste-Hindus flowed from the meek submission of the lowly sections of the community to their high rank. When the latter consciously organized themselves to counter the retarding forces, let loose by the former, a condition of social conflict came into being for sometime. Orthodoxy gradually beat a retreat finding its sally ineffective before the march of the idea of progress. The impact of the west is visible in this process. The book proves to be a prolegomena to the story of social renaissance in Kerala.

The epic struggle of the Nadars of Travancore to gain the right of their women-folk to dress decently is the theme of this book. The barbarous custom of not permitting the women of lower strata of society to cover their bosoms which was evidently the handiwork of a degenerate, pleasure-loving licentious feudal caste-culture, and was prevalent all over Kerala from the early medieval times to the early half of the present century, indicates a low state of morality and culture of Kerala. The author very ably traces the origin and development of this social phenomenon and brings home the appalling magnitude of the disabilities under which the out-castes and Christian converts had to live and continue to subscribe to the weal of the country. The details supplied in the book enable us to see the clear picture of a violently luscious and gory caste-Hindu orthodoxy and the oozy, slavish and meek unprivileged classes

which constitute the society in Kerala. The narrowing down of the gap between these opposite groups, through the voluntary and conscious efforts of the lower classes with the active assistance of the Christian missionaries, denotes a suggestive phase of the social regeneration of Travancore. Mr. Yesudas, even though impulsive at times, makes a very successful effort to reach at the core of the problem and shows sure signs of a perspective that is rarely common in many historical scholars of today.

The texts of documents given in the appendix are of more than ordinary value; some of them are indeed, very rare and others are difficult to find at all. The author's persevering hunt for them has enabled him to collect quite a lot of these precious ones and I am sure they will satisfy the curiosity of the inquirers who want to approach the problem in any other light in which they wish to view it. Even if one may not agree with all the conclusions arrived at or the generalizations made by the author, the book will certainly serve as a path-finder in this unfrequented area of study. To that extent this generally innovative attempt of the young historian is highly praiseworthy.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

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PREFACE

An attempt has been made in this book to give a brief account of an agitation for securing a form of social justice in Travancore in the early part of the nineteenth century. Historians of Travancore have not properly evaluated the impact of this movement on the social history of the country. According to P. Shungoony Menon, V. Nagam Aiya and T. K. Velu Pillai this revolt was only a 'Shanar Disturbance' for securing the right of their women to cover their bosoms. Robert L. Hardgrave, the author of the *Nadars of Tamilnadu* regarded it as a 'breast-cloth controversy.' Both these views seem to be wanting in historical precision. Although the Nāḍārs took the leading role in the revolt they enjoyed the support of the socially backward classes as well as the European missionaries. By calling it a 'Shanar Disturbance' the historians have narrowed its scope and lowered its significance. Besides the question of breast-cloth, the movement involved many other deeper questions like freedom from oppressive feudal exactions like viruthi and ūḻiyam (forced labour), exorbitant taxes, gaining the right of entry into public roads and thoroughfares etc. Hence the appellation of 'breast-cloth controvery' is not quite appropriate. Records prove that this revolt had wider meaning and implications. Later on high-caste Hindu women who were till then prevented from covering their bosoms decently in the

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presence of their caste-superiors were also granted the right. Thus the revolt was actually a 'People's Revolt.'

The organisers of this revolt, the Nāḍārs, were known as 'Shānārs' at the time of the revolt. The caste-title of Shānār or Cānnār was changed to Nāḍār in 1924 by an order of the Madras Government after several representations to that effect from that community. In this book I have used the term Nāḍār in the place of Shānār except in quotations.

Among those who greatly encouraged me in the study of this topic, I must mention first the name of Dr. T. K. Ravindran, Professor of History and President, Kerala Historical Society, University of Kerala, who instilled in me the desire to work on the social and economic oppression which the higher classes were perpetrating on their unfortunate brethren in the lower rungs of the social ladder, the magnitude of which had not been laid bare so far. I am also extremely grateful to him for writing a foreword to the book.

Prof. Hephzibah Jesudasan, K. Sam and G. Gangadharan Nair read through the manuscript and made valuable suggestions. I am obliged to Dr. M. J. Koshy and Dr. A. P. Ibrahim Kunju Readers, Department of History, University of Kerala for offering valuable criticisms. I feel profound gratitude to Mrs. Adiyappa, Librarian of the Indian Church History Archives, Bangalore, who graciously allowed me to peruse the records bearing on the subject preserved there. Thanks are due also to the staff of the Tamilnadu Archives, Madras; Church History Archives, United Theological College, Bangalore; and institutions like English Records, State Archives, University Library, Public Library and the United Theological College Seminary-Library, Trivandrum, for ungrudging service.

I gratefully remember the loving encouragement and help rendered me by my parents and sister R. N. Siby. I am thankful to all my friends who have directly or indirectly helped me in the venture.

Trivandrum,
23-1-1975.

R. N. Y.

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1

INTRODUCTION

A GENUINE and widespread desire for reform was rampant in the hearts of the unprivileged classes of Travancore by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its outcome was a rovclt against the tyrannical exploitation perpetuated by the privileged classes. "When a reform becomes necessary" writes Mignet, "and the moment to achieve it has arrived, nothing can stand in its way and everything serves its progress."[1]

The tradition is that Paraśurāma created Kerala and *Kēraḷōlpatti*, a treatise in Malayalam says that this Brahmin sage prohibited females from adorning themselves with jewels and covering their bosoms. The women were allowed to wear only a "single cloth tied round their loins."[2] Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who visited Kerala in the thirteenth century A.D., had made mention of this custom in his travelogue. He writes: "They are all black, and go naked, all save a fine cloth worn about the middle."[3]

1 F. A. M. Mignet, *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814* (London, 1915), p. 1.

2 Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual* (Trivandrum, 1900), Vol. 1, p. 215.

3 Sir Henry Yule (Ed.), *The Book of Marco Polo* (London, 1903) Vol. II, p. 376.

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Among the upper-classes the women of the Brahmin community alone enjoyed the privilege of covering their bosoms when they went out, though they moved about in their houses exposing the upper part of their bodies.[4] The women of the Śūdra community considered it indecent to cover their bosoms, though they were in the habit of using upper-clothes when they were going out. It was customary among the women of this community to expose their bosoms in the presence of the members of the royal family or persons of high rank and also in religious processions as a token of obeisance.[5] But the women of the unprivileged classes, namely those below the Śūdras, were totally prohibited from covering their bosoms.

The arrival of Protestant missionaries was a landmark in the history of Travancore. They ushered in a new era of thinking based on rationalism and liberalism. William Tobias Ringeltaube was the first Protestant missionary to arrive in Travancore. He attacked caste system and laboured for the equality of all human beings. As a social reformer he pleaded for the abolition of ūḻiyam services and caste distinctions and fought for the right of women belonging to the unprivileged classes to cover their bosoms. The seeds of reformation sown by him germinated and in course of time grew in bulk to give shade and shelter to the unprivileged.

Travancore passed through a revolution in all aspects of life with the spread of Christianity and English education. The march was towards social justice, liberty and equality. The revolution started in the minds of the unprivileged classes was led by the Christian missionaries who were always on the side of the oppressed. When the privileged classes came to resist this movement there was an outburst of feeling, though it had originated without violence. It resulted in the 'People's Revolt', which was one for the right to cover the bosom.

The leaders of this 'People's Revolt' were men who had been influenced by western liberal thought. They guided the revolt

4 Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 252
5 *Ibid.*, p. 351.

from behind and attacked the intelligentsia of the privileged classes who had advocated caste prejudices for the maintenance of their glory and prestige.

The Rajah of Travancore was in favour of bringing about liberal reforms for the amelioration of the sufferings of the unprivileged classes, but the privileged classes were so powerful that they overawed him in his pursuits. This proved that far-reaching reforms were not possible so long as the privileged orders were left in possession of their powers. These then were the limits beyond which reform could not go.

Those converted to Christianity—the majority were Nāḍārs—had such improvement in wealth and education that they demanded equality with the privileged classes. But this desire was thwarted from all sides by the privileged classes. So they became restless and ultimately took arms to fight their longstanding grievances and frustration. This, in effect, inspired others of the unprivileged classes also to rise in revolt against the injustice and tyranny of the caste Hindus. The fire was kindled, but no fuel was added to make it wide-spread.

The Nāḍārs of South Travancore, who had migrated from the Pāṇḍya country, had been agitating for the right to cover the bosoms of their women even before the arrival of the Protestant missionaries. When they were in the Tamil country they were not forbidden from covering their bosoms and could adorn their persons as they pleased. They considered the restrictions regarding dress as a sort of insult and humiliation. The missionaries, when they arrived, felt the pulse of these people and urged them to cover their bosoms with jackets. In 1814 Resident Col. Munro issued an order permitting the Christian women to cover their bosoms with any type of clothes they liked. The Christian women of the Nāḍār community in addition to wearing the jacket, used upper-clothes also, like the women of the privileged classes; but this was met with violent attacks from the other side.

This attack grew in such dimensions that the privileged classes went about stripping the Nāḍār women of their jackets and upper-clothes alleging violation of long-standing customs and caste rules. The Nāḍārs of South Travancore collected together and

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fought many bloodless battles, which had lasted for about forty years. This was the first organised revolt against custom and caste in India. It was, in all respects, a struggle between the privileged and the unprivileged classes, not between the missionaries and the Rajah, although the missionaries were on the side of the unprivileged classes.

The People's Revolt was generally defensive, socially liberal and forward-looking, more concerned to restore what they had lost of a 'golden past' before their arrival in Travancore from the Pāṇdya country, than to blaze a trail for something new. Like the Pugachev Rebellion in Russia, the Lofthuus Affair in Norway, the Wilkite and No Popery Riots in London and the Peasant Revolts in Austria, the People's Revolt in Travancore reflected the growth of the revolutionary mentality of a people craving for rights and privileges.

2

THE DARK BACKGROUND

IN the early decades of the nineteenth century the most important social movement in Travancore, perhaps in the whole of South India, was one for the right of women belonging to socially backward classes to cover their bosoms and wear upper-clothes. In certain regions the tremor of the rebellion was rather severe, while in certain others its intensity was comparatively feeble. It cannot be denied that the revolt was wide-spread and the government of Travancore was alarmed at its extent, for it forced the British government to interfere in the matter. During this time British India had entered upon an era of reconstruction and national consciousness, whereas Travancore had relapsed into forty years of great disorder and upheaval which shattered its existing social structure and led to a reformation.

It was the feudal set-up of the last decades of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries that gave birth to this social revolt. The social principles that existed in Travancore made the major section of the people of Travancore mere slaves of the dominant classes. The superstitions of the people had given the Brahmins a baneful sway which was upheld by artifice.[1] They

1 Ward and Conner, *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States, From July 1816 to the end of the year* (Travancore Circar Press, 1863) p. 93.

were elevated by the people into divinities, while the timid bigotry of the chiefs denied nothing to their rapacious importunity, which a profuse bounty rather provoked than satisfied. They maintained from time immemorial the pre-eminence they had established over all other castes of Hindus. They devised a well-framed system of imposture in order to maintain unimpaired their ascendancy over the other castes and to keep the latter in that state of stupidity and ignorance in which they were immersed.[2] The Brahmins were the only class exempt from all social and religious disabilities. They enjoyed perfect liberty of action. The whole frame-work of Hinduism was for the comfort and exaltation of the Brahmins.[3] "His word is law; his smile confers happiness and salvation; his power with heaven is unlimited; the very dust of his feet is purify-

2 James Hough, *The History of Christianity in India* (London, 1839) Vol. II, p. 226. Prof. Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai has described the origin of their domination and influence in his book *Studies in Kerala History*. He says that this feudalism–ridden society and the influence of the Brahmins have been "the result of economic domination and political mastery. It became an unwritten law at this time that kings who were not Nambudiris should be the sons of Nambudiris. Therefore princes of royal families were given education in smṛtis by the Nambūdiris and they developed a hold on future kings even from their boy-hood. That was the reason why the Nambūdiris were able to establish and maintain the caste predominance and smṛti rule with greater strength and effect here than was possible even in North India. As a result Kerala became the worst example of caste division and caste domination in the whole of India". Elamkulam, *Studies in Kerala History* (Trivandrum, 1970), p. 265.

3 Jacob Canter Visscher, *Letters from Malabar* (Madras, 1862), p. 68 Prof. T. K. Ravindran has narrated an incident to elucidate the liberty exercised by the Brahmins on all things including the bodies of beautiful women in his book *Asan and Social Revolution in Kerala*. "......An old Brahmin attending a feast in a temple, caught hold of a young Nair girl, full grown, with bareblooming breast and caressed her in front of all others present. This is seemingly harmless but flagitous expression of wanton caste prerogative permitted by that licentious feudal set up." T. K. Ravindran, *Asan and Social Revolution in Kerala* (Trivandrum, 1973), p. XII

ing in its nature and efficacy." Manu says: "Whatever exists in the universe is all in effect, though not in form, the wealth of the Brahman; since the Brahman is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth. The Brahman eats but his own food, wears but his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms. Through the benevolence of the Brahman, indeed, other mortals enjoy life. He alone deserves to possess this whole earth."[4] The Rajah, who was considered the representative of God on Earth, was but subordinate to the Brahmins, for without their help and support, he could not continue as Rajah. He spent large sums of money for the support and comfort of the Brahmins. Almost every man above the lowest rank spent some of his property on Brahmins. The richer frequently established temples and endowed them with lands to maintain a particular number of Brahmins.[5] Brahmins, whether travelling or residing, were supported at government expense. The *Murajapam* festival at Trivandrum, celebrated every sixth year for forty days, was attended by the whole Brahmin population. They were entertained at an immense expense. This liberality for Brahmins acquired for the state the epithet *Dharma Samstānam*.[6] There were several *ūṭṭupurāhs* or free inns scattered all over the country for the liberal entertainment of this race.

There were several causes for this great influence of Brahmins. They claimed descent from Brahma, who created them from his head, while the low castes were created from his feet.[7] So the people believed them to be demi-gods and fell prostrate before them with expressions of adoration. From the eleventh century onwards they were the real rulers of Kerala and the Rajahs were their servants. The Rajahs obeyed the orders of the Brahmins because of their affinity with God, the Creator and Ruler. The Brahmins wanted soldiers to fight and mistresses to enjoy. So they "instituted the Nair caste, the males acting in the first capacity, and the females in the second. The head peons or foot soldiers

4 Quoted by Rev. Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity* (London, 1871) p. 158.

5 Ward and Conner, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

7 James Hough, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 221.

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probably became Rajahs."[8] The Brahmins were also rich landlords, though administration of the land was in the hands of the Nairs.[9] The sciences and the arts were also in the hands of these 'holy people.' The lower classes were forbidden to lay any claim whatever, to either sacred or profane science.[10] When some unexpected obstacle prevented Rajah Mārtāṇḍa Varma in 1746 from further advance to a conquest, the holy Brahmins, who were his counsels, advised him to sacrifice fifteen infants belonging to the Nāḍārs, fisher Christians and Īḻavas which he readily obeyed. After conducting many ceremonies these fifteen infants were buried alive in the four quarters of the royal city. Such in brief was their influence on the Rajah and their utter disregard for human life.[11]

They even had powers of capital punishment and established an authority parallel to the royal authority. Their regime commenced in Kerala history after the death of Rāma Varma Kulaśēkhara, the last Perumāḷ of Kerala. This last Perumāḷ was forced by the Brahmins to give land sufficient to yield one *para* of paddy daily to the temple of Rāmēśvaram at Quilon.[12]

They followed a policy of divide and rule to preserve and maintain their power and wealth, and for their success devised the caste system. They decreed unapproachability in respect of all those who refused to give them concubines. It was the duty of the Nair to kill the Pulayas and Parayas who did not get out of the way. The children of Pulayas and Parayas were "*monkeys*"

8 Walter Hamilton, *The East India Gazetteer Containing Descriptions of Hindostan*, Second ed. (London, H. Allen and Co.), Vol. II, p. 178.

9 Francis Buchanan, *Journey from Madras, through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (London, 1870), Vol. II, p. 325. When Maharaja Martanda Varma of Travancore hanged some Nair Māḍampīs, their properties became Brahmasvam and Dēvasvam. Elamkulam, *Studies in Kerala History*, P. 341.

10 James Hough, *op. cit.*, pp. 226–27

11 Rev. Thomas White House, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land* (London, 1873), p. 215.

12 Elamkulam, *Studies in Kerala History*, p. 346.

13 *Ibid.*, pp.346–47.

in the eyes of the Brahmins, and their women folk were *Pulakkaḷḷis* and *Parakkaḷḷis*. The Īḻava and Nāḍār population should remain at least 12 feet away from the Śūdras. A Nair who immediately killed a Tīya, if he came within 36 feet of the Brahmin, would attain heaven. A Nair should not touch a Brahmin, but he could go near him.[13]

The Nambūdiri landlords became pleasure-seekers. The temples became centres of luxury and eroticism. Beautiful dancing girls abounded in the temples. The period was the hey day of the Nambūdiris. All properties including women became 'Paraśurāma's gift to them.' They made laws for their convenience and enjoyment. They declared that "the women need not observe chastity." They also declared that no female should cover "her breasts".[14] The Chieftain of Kārttikappaḷḷi went a step further. He permitted the higher castes "to put anyone to death on the spot, who should resist their brutal demands". They assumed the right of dishonouring any woman, whatever her rank or circumstances.[15]

14 Elamkulam, *Kerala Charithrathile Iruladanja Edugal*, p.160

15 James Hough, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 174–75 Prof. Elamkulam draws a fine picture of that Medieval Society. "At about this time, the priests also began to propagate new doctrines of morality. One such law was that all beautiful girls should be socialised and assigned to the temples for the service of the gods. In Kerala, women who took the livery of the gods and became the public property of the Nambudiris came to be regarded as honoured members of society.

"Another new moral doctrine was as laid down in the *Keralolpatti*, that 'only through Nambudiri seed would good kings be born.' The Nambudiris were able to get the kings, chieftains and nobles to accept this doctrine. The women of the royal and noble houses had no need of *Brahmaswam* property. All they wanted was 'Nambudiri—seed.'

"The law of 'droit seigneur' characteristic of the feudal system in Europe was not enforced by the Nambudiris among their tenants. There was no necessity of any such law. Not only on the first night of the marriage, but even before and after it, the tenant's women were but the play things of the *jenmis*. A foreign traveller has recorded that

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Women of any status who refused to expose their breasts before the Brahmins were looked upon by them as immoral and immodest. If the women did so, they were liable to be put to death according to the proclamation. "The women who did not yield to the wishes of the man of the same or superior castes are immoral and should be put to death immediately."[16] Gross, a traveller of the eighteeuth century, recorded that when a woman, who lived in a European centre for sometime, came before the Rani of Āttingal with her breasts covered, the Rani ordered to cut off her breasts immediately.[17] "Till recent times", observes Prof. T.K. Ravindran, "the custom of the lower caste women, going in the Nambūdiri illoms removing the upper garment, was strictlv observed throughout Kerala".[18]

Ūṭṭupurāhs or free inns for Brahmins was another peculiar feature of the religious history of Travancore. There were about forty two such houses. In these ūṭṭupurāhs Brahmins were sumptuously fed at the expense of the government. A Brahmin could reside in an ūṭṭupurāh for a maximum of two days, and more if sickness or other unavoidable cause prevented his leaving the place. The government of Travancore spent three lakhs of rupees annually for maintaining these ūṭṭupurāhs.[19]

The Nairs and other lower classes attributed to these Brahmins the highest position in the social hierarchy and looked upon them as the 'holiest of human beings' and the visible representations of God on earth (Bhūdēvans). "Their persons are holy, their movements 'procession' and their meal, 'nectar.'" The low class people

as young Nair women could get enough Nambudiri youths, Nair youths found it difficult to get women who were not old." Elamkulam, *Studies in Kerala History* pp. 315—16.

16 Elamkulam, *Kerala Charithrathile Iruladanja Edugal*, p. 161.

17 James Forbes. *Oriental Memoirs* (London, 1834), Vol. I, p. 250: Elamkulam, *Kerala Charithrathile Iruladanja Edugal*, pp. 139—40.

18 Dr. T. K. Ravindran, *Asan and Social Revolution in Kerala* (Trivandrum, Kerala Historical Society, 1973), p. XIII.

19 Major Herbes Drury, (Ed.) V. Krishna Row, *Selections from the Records of Travancore*, (Trivandrum, 1860) No. III, pp. 19–20; Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 181-82.

used special words to address their masters, the Nambūdiris.[20]

Unlike the women belonging to the lower orders, the Nambūdiri women were well-dressed with an upper-cloth. The barbarous and inhuman customs relating to the dress of women applied only to the lower castes, including Nairs. The upper part of the dress of a Nambūdiri lady consisted of a smart coloured jacket, fastened in front and covering the bosom, and over this an upper-cloth was also worn. The garment was tightly wound around the waist and turned in at one end in a variety of forms with neat

20 L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes* (Madras, 1912) Vol. II, pp. 278–79. "A Nayar addressing a Nambudiri must speak of himself as *Atiyan* (foot-servants), his rice is called gritty-rice or *Kallari*, his rupees, copper coins or *chembu-kasu* his house as *kuppadu* (dung-pit). He must esteem himself very low as he proceeds, lest the least sign of insubordination should provoke and ruin him. He must speak of the Nambudiris' rice as *Pazhayari*, old or raw rice, his coppers as rupees, and his house as *Illom* or *Mana*. The Nayar must not call his cloth a cloth, but 'an old cloth or spider's web'. The Nambudiri's colth, on the other hand, is called his daily white cloth (*vastram*). The Nayar while referring to his bathing must say, that he drenches himself in water (*nanayuka*-to become wet), but the Nambudiri, on a similar occasion is said to sport in the water (*niratuka*). Should he speak of eating or drinking, the Nayar must say of himself that he takes food or treats himself to the water (*karikkadi*) in which the rice has been washed. Should he refer to the food of the Nambudiri, he must say that he tastes ambrosia (*amritham*). A Nayar calls his sleeping 'lying flat,' while the Nambudiri is said to close his eyes or resting (went to *Pallikuruppu*), like a Rajah. The Nayar must speak of his own death as *Kuttam pizhachu* or died of sins, but of the Nambudiri as *mutinnu ezhunnelli* (disappeared for ever). When the Nayar is ill, he says that his limbs have become stiff, but a Nambudiri in a similar state, is said to be merely unwell. When a Nambudiri has to be shaved by a barber, the expression that his 'hairs are cut', is invariably used. When he is angry he is said to be dissatisfied. A Nayar cleans his teeth, but a Nambudiri cleans his superior pearls. When he laughs he displays his superior pearls." Such were the eulogistic terms used by the Nairs and other low caste people in addressing the Nambūdiris.

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folds. The other end was used as an 'upper-cloth' to cover the shoulders and bosoms. They also enjoyed the privilege of wearing gold bracelets and ornaments.[21] "There is not one of any fortune, who does not own as many as twenty or thirty chests full of robes, made of silk or some other valuable material, for it would be a disgrace in their eyes to wear the same dress two or three days in succession. Their necks are adorned with necklaces of diamonds, their ears with ear-rings, and their fingers with finger-rings of the same precious stones. Pearls are very common with them, and gold chains are worn by the wives and children of trades-men and soldiers"[22]

The rights and privileges enjoyed by Brahmins constituted a barrier to the general progress of the country. They were exempted from capital punishments and their crimes were not viewed seriously, while those committed against them were severely punished. The rules in force, such as the observance of distances from and veneration for the Brahmin, prevented the elevation of lower orders and limited the natural freedom of several classes of individuals.[23] Prejudice prevented them from engaging in any useful profession; some were employed in the performance of religious offices, but the majority indulged in indolent repose. Their erudition rarely exceeded a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit, although they spoke pure Malayalam.[24] Their idolatry was contrary to the practice of their ancestors and the principles as laid down in the ancient books.[25]

Brahmin temples were exclusively for their own worship. The lower classes had their own temples and deities. They did not dare to touch even the outer walls of the Brahmin temples. They could make offerings to the temple only from a distance. If a Pulayan touched a Nambūdiri the latter had to make expiation by bathing and reading sacred books. He must change his Brahmanical

21 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 62,, Ward and Conner, *op cit.*, p. 64.

22 Jacob Canter Visscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

24 Ward and Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

25 Jogendra Chunder Ghose, (ed.) *The English Works of Ram Mohan Roy*, Vol. I, pp. 80-81

thread.[26] Thus, the Brahmin was, in all respects, more a ... than an asset to society. His domination created an intellectua... cultural and economic stagnation for more than half a millennium.

The next class that inflicted much hardship on the lower classes in Travancore were the Śūdrās, who formed the midstratum of society.[27] They were the principal owners of land and slaves. All the servants of government were recruited from this caste. They were particularly solicitous of office and as a result, the backward classes were prevented from holding any public office. They were interested in acquisition than in consumption and perhaps generally possessed the characteristic rather of economy than prodigality.[28] They were known by the name of Nair, meaning chieftain or master. By the primitive laws of caste, the Śūdras were created for the service of the Brahmins. They were created by the Nambūdiris "with the help of kings".[29] Hamilton has observed that after enthroning the most prominent among their hench men as kings, the Nambūdiris collected all those who were prepared to give them concubines and soldiers and thus created the community of Nairs and established the matrilineal system among them.[30] They were prohibited from reading the sacred books and performing religious ceremonies. According to the law of Manu: "Men of the servile (Śūdra) caste were created for the purpose of serving Brahmins. The Brahmin, who declares the law to a servile man, and who instructs him in the mode of expiating sin, sinks with that very man into hell. If a Śūdra reads the vedas or the puranas, then the magistrate shall heat some bitter oil and pour into the Śūdrā's mouth; and if the Śūdrā listens to the Vedas, then boiling oil shall be poured into his ears."[31] Thus the Śūdrās were neither

26 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, (London, 1883) p. 333.

27 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 35

28 Ward and Conner, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

29 Elamkulam, *Studies in Kerala History*, p. 314.

30 Walter Hamilton, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p. 178-79.

31 Quoted by Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 35. "If the Sudra hears the Vedas, fill his ears with molten lead, and if he remembers a line, cut his tongue out. If he says to the Brahmin, 'You Brahmin', cut his tongue out". Vivekananda, *Lectures from Colombo to Almora*, p. 193.

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forbidden to read the Sanskrit Vedas nor to question the domination of the Brahmins, for they believed that, if the Śūdras acquired the knowledge of the Vedas, they would challenge their authority.

The Nairs were also the military class of Travancore, who formed a *feudal aristocracy*. Their power was in the number of their followers and dependents. The kings and princes submitted to them and in return, these people gave them military service or some small personal contribution. The lower classes of people were expected to give bribes and offerings to Nairs, during certain festivals and selected days, known as *Kōp*.[32] The chief man could not be approached without a bribe; otherwise, the officers or the chief man would oppress him. There was only one authority recognised and obeyed throughout the country. That was the authority of the petty chiefs, under the names of *Mādampimār*, *Prabhukkānmār*, etc, recruited from the class of Nairs.[33]

Checks were imposed on the Rajahs by them, who assembled together on the invitation of the Rajah and in time of emergency by the spontaneous will of the people. In the former case, messengers who were privileged to that office by birth and descent were despatched by the Rajah to summon the people. When assembled they sat in a circle in the open air, while a number of Nairs kept guard on them. "The propositions were then discussed, and the measures proposed were rejected or adopted by the unanimous silence or clamour of those present".[34] Questions of minor importance, not affecting the welfare of the whole community, were decided by the chiefs. The latter assemblies were held only in cases of emergency, when the Rajah was guilty of extreme tyranny or of gross violation of the law. The Rajah had no right nor power to prevent them by force of arms, but he could send a *Paṇḍāra Pāṭṭi* (servants of the rulers) to provoke them with all manner of annoyance and to pelt them with stones, sand and dirt. "The Nayars on guard did their best to keep off the assailants

32 Ward and Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96. *Kop* means subsistence to persons. All types of articles, food items, etc., were given to superior officers for grace.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
34 L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 53-54

with their shields, and, if any one of them, provoked beyond durance, were to strike or hurt one of the youths, it would be regarded as treason, and, as such, the assembly would be liable to a heavy fine and would be deprived of its inviolability. The Rajah might then disperse them by force of arms; but if he failed to subdue them, they would all desert their allegiance"[35] These assemblies or *kuṭṭams* exercised a tremendous influence and acted as a powerful check upon the rulers and ministers. In former times there also existed caste councils of *Pramāṇīs* or leaders, who decided social questions.

Punishments were given to the people by them. "There was no written code, but the punishments assigned by custom fitted the crimes, and they varied with the status of caste and of the person. The nobles enjoyed the privilege of freedom from confinement". The punishment of death was reserved for sacrilege, the murder of the Brahmin, and a cow.[36]

The results of the domination of the Nairs, who formed the officialdom, are thus described by Col. Munro in his elaborate report submitted to the Madras Government on the 7th March 1818. "No description can produce an adequate impression of the tyranny, corruption and abuses of the system full of activity and energy in everything mischievous, oppressive and infamous, but slow and dilatory to effect any purpose of humanity, mercy and justice. This body of public officers, united with each other on fixed principles of combination and mutual support, resented a complaint against one of their numbers, as an attack upon the whole. Their pay was very small, and never issued from the treasury, but supplied from several authorised exactions made by themselves. They offered, on receiving their appointment, large nuzzers to the Rajah, and had afterwards to make presents, on days of public solemnity, that exceeded the half of their pay. They realised, in the course of two or three years, large sums of money and were generally subjected to a complete confiscation of their property for the benefit of the State. The Rajah, therefore, imposed no restraint on their rapacity, aware that their plunder would be

35 *Ibid.*
36 *Ibid.*, p. 55

transferred to his own treasury. Nor does it appear that this consideration had any effect in checking their extortions: they calculated upon being able to conceal their property during their lives and felt little concern as to the mode of its disposal after their death. On the part of the people, complaint was useless, redress hopeless; they had only one remedy and that was bribery. This practice was universal, and it was one of the melancholy circumstances in the situation of the people, that one of the greatest evils was necessarily resorted to as a good, to mitigate the still more intolerable grievances of injustice and oppression. Innocence was protected, justice obtained, and right secured by bribes. There were also still more efficacious means of injury, and their universal use produced an extraordinary spirit of avarice in the country, for every man endeavoured to have a secret hoard of money, as the best protection of his liberty, property and life."[37]

The Nairs of Nāñcinād, rather the *National Council of Piḍākakārs*, exercised more authority over the southern districts than the government itself. This *National Council* of southern Nairs met once a year at Śucīndram in December, at the time of the Car Festival. The Council consisting of representatives of all the important villages deliberated on the deeper matters concerning the privileges of their caste and religion. One of the chief topics discussed was whether any individual had violated his respective caste customs and manners. If so, the Council took the law into its own hands and brought him to judgement and carried everything with a high hand. There were instances in which even capital punishment was inflicted by this Council. They were a terror to the people and even the Rajah feared the Council. The people of Nāñcinād, when they marched through the country, bowed and worshipped those senators and implicitly obeyed their dictatorial commands.[38]

The Nairs opposed tooth and nail any change in the established customs of the country. Whenever a Nair was converted

37 Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India company—VI Political, (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th August 1832), Appendix No. 20, p. 276.

38 C. M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, (Madras, 1903) pp. 568-70

to Christianity, they dealt hard with him. Bartalomeo says: "The King of Travancore threatens with imprisonment and death every noble man who shall quit his court to become a Christian, and who shall afterwards fall into his hands; and indeed Neelampulla, an officer of a noble family, was shot at Arampulli; because he refused to renounce the religion of Jesus Christ.

"In the year 1787 I saw four Nayris or noble shudris, thrown into prison at Tiruvandaburam, because they would not apostatise from the Catholic Church....The four captive shudris, were at last transported beyond the boundaries of Tovala."[39]

The Sūdras seldom considered the low class people as human beings. The use of public highways was forbidden to them. If anyone dared to approach within the polluting distance of a Nair, he would be cut down at once. To secure immediate recognition of such classes they were required to be uncovered above the waist. The Nairs were exempted from the land tax. They were the greatest slave owners of the country.[40] This caused them much

39 Fra Paolino Da San Bartolomeo, *Voyage to the East Indies* (London, 1800), pp. 207-9 "Sampradi Keshava Pulla did every thing in his power to make the above four shudris abjure Christianity, even paid them a visit himself, and, to gain his point, employed every possible art of persuasion. As these were not attended with success, his substitute proceeded to coereive means, and not only tortured the prisoners with hunger and thirst, but even caused them to be scourged twice a day. These heroic souls, however, were, not to be shaken, and acknowledged openly in prison the word of God:– so that Sampradi Keshava Pulla was at length afraid they might make proselytes. The King was unwilling to punish them with death, because he had been informed, several years before, by a Catholic master of languages, who taught him English, that he never would thrive if he executed any person, for having embraced Christianity. The King was much struck with the observation and he had made a principle of it which he ever after followed. As he wished still to adhere to it, the four captive shudris, after every thing had been tried to make them alter their opinion, were at last transported beyond the boundaries of Tovala."

40 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 291.
"Among legal matters may be included the rights, masters

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fold of headache also, for there existed certain customs injurious to their position and prestige. During the months of *Kumbham and Minam* (February and March), if a Pulayan met a Nair woman alone, he might seize her, unless she was accompanied by a Nāḍār boy. This period of the year was called *PuLa Piḍi Kālam*. A high caste woman might lose caste even if a slave happened to throw a stone at her after sunset. In North Travancore the Parayas broke into the houses of Brahmins and Nairs, carrying away their children and property, prentending motives of revenge rather than of interest. Barbosa also gives a good description of Pulayans, who wandered at night to touch some of the Nair women, so that they might lose caste and be compelled to leave their homes.[41]

The Śūdra women enjoyed a position in society because of their connection with the Brahmins. In the presence of persons of rank and position, and the royal family ancient custom required the women of Nairs and low castes to uncover the bosoms and upper parts of their bodies.[42] Gross, the traveller, says that the Nair women were prohibited from covering any part of their breasts.[43] At the time of the Ārāṭṭu festival and daily processions of the idol of Sri Padmanābha Svāmi Temple in Trivandrum, the authorities presented a large number of beautiful young Nair girls, with bare breasts, carrying lamps, to follow the idol. They were also expected to follow the idol at the end of the Ārāṭṭu festival to Śaṅkhumukham, the sea beach three miles west of Trivandrum City, in the same manner. The wealth and social position of the Nairs did not protect their women from uncovering their bosoms before the Brahmins. A Nair girl of high position found

possess, regarding the sale of their slaves. The Pulleahs are born slaves. Every Zemindar, prince or wealthy Nair, has a certain number of them whose children are also born in slavery." Jacob Canter Visscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–70.

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300; Duarte Barbosa, A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar (London, M.Dccc LXVI) pp. 143-44

42 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 61-62; K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. III, p. 192.

43 Quoted by Tiruvangad C. Krishna Kurup, *Kerala Charitram Parasuramaniloode* (first edition, 1962) pp. 201-2

in the temple premises was completely stripped by the servants of the Rajah, for not exposing her breasts immediately, when a member of the royal family met her.[44] Chastity was only lightly valued; its infraction was regarded more as a failing than a fault. A Nair girl generally resided with her brother and took many lovers.[45] She wore a light cotton cloth loosely across the breast and over one shoulder, generally known by the name of upper-cloth. To have an upper-cloth was considered to be a privilege and no Nair would tolerate a woman of the lower caste wearing it.[46] Although the Nairs were the slaves of the Brahmins, they enjoyed a high position in society. They gained their influence in Kerala from their being children of the Brahmins.

The next class in the social pyramid of Travancore were the Nāḍārs or Cānnārs.[47] The Nāḍārs of Travancore were identical with those of Madras and Tinnevelly. They claimed a divine origin and believed themselves to have been made to carry

44 *Ibid.*

45 Ward and Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71 "Held by so loose a tenure, it might be supposed their frailties would not create much domestic confusion, but jealousy is by no means unknown, that amiable passion producing even here tragical events, although it must be allowed they do not often permit it to trouble their harmony........ The Brahmins of all descriptions are courted with a caressing homage, the most obdurate virtue could scarcely resist, nor do previous engagements oppose any barriers to their success, as the Nair compelled to resign his mistress to more holy embraces, retires on their approach, not venturing however, strong his claim or forcible his attachment, to interpose between their enjoyments."

46 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 61.

47 The land of the *teris* was traditionally the home of the Nāḍārs. The *teris* originated according to local tradition, in showers of earth which in ancient time covered certain guilty cities. (Robert Caldwell, *Tinnevelly Shanars* Madras, 1849) pp. 7-9). Beneath the teris, the Nāḍārs claim, lay the ruins of the once great cities of Nāḍār Kingdom. The regions inhabited by the Nāḍārs are little better than a desert, sandy, burnt-up, barren and uninviting. The origins of the community are to be found here. Robert L. Hardgrave. *Nadars of Madras* (Bombay, 1969), p. 20.

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crowns.[48] This class is known in the North as Tiyans, in Central Travancore as Cōvans, and in the South as Nāḍārs and generally as Ezhavas; denominations carrying such slight shades of distinction, they all may be considered to have belonged to the same race.[49] They were large in numbers, performing agricultural

48 H. R. Pate, *Madras District Gazetteers, Tinnevelly*, (Madras 1917), Vol.1, p. 129. "The popular account of the origin of the caste is that its founders were the sons of seven maids, *Kannis* - formed from the eye-sight of the god, Narayana. The god brought up the seven boys on the milk of the cow of the god Indra and then left them under the protection of Badrakali (to the present day the household deity of the community). One day, the story goes on, the river Vaigai (in the Madura District) breached, and flood was threatened. The King of the country was told that, if the seven boys took mud in baskets on their heads and closed the breaches, the remedy would be permanent. The Shanar boys said, their heads were made to carry crowns, not baskets, and refused to obey the King. The King was furious and ordered that one of the boys should be buried in the sand up to his neck. The order was obeyed, and an elephant came up and kicked off the boy's head, which was then thrown into the river. The other boys were still defiant, and a second victim was treated likewise. As his head floated down the stream, it cried out: "Shall this head prove false to the other?" The King heard, and was appeased; and the remaining five, from each of whom originated a division of the caste, were spared."

49 Ward and Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–36. "Martyres to the distinction of castes, they are treated by the higher orders with supercilious scorn; too poor to invite their rapacity, they are held by them in bondage, at ieast they are awed into a servitude, mitigated to be sure, when contrasted to that of the praedial slaves. During late years this class has been raised in some measure from the state of degradation in which they were held, the repeal of an oppressive poll-tax from which the lowest poverty could not exempt them, abrogation of the *Ooloogoo* or forced labour, and many vexatious restraints may have taught them their own rights and given them confidence to claim them. There is of course considerable variety in their condition and character; towards the south they have their subsistence from the palmyra, and enjoy some local advantages........All are allowed to hold lands and gardens; they constitute the

labour and other kinds of useful works. They were always engaged in the more active operations of rural economy. They never held office except of the lowest kind. They were treated by higher orders with scorn and contempt. They were held by them in bondage. Their foreign origin has recently been contested with much force of credulity.[50] In the south, their language was Tamil and proceeding towards north, Malayalam. Their rough, unrefined Tamil language, furnished a strong proof cognate with others that these Nāḍārs were another portion of the great aboriginal Tartar race, which first overran the soil of India.[51]

Robert Caldwell is of the opinion that the Nāḍārs were emigrants from the northern coast of Ceylon. He found there a caste bearing a grammatical form of the same name, Shandrar, of which, he said, Shānār or Cānnār is etymologically a corruption. The Iḻavas of Kerala, the cultivators of the coconut palm, were descendants of Sanrōr[52] colonists from Ceylon, who used the title 'Shānān' as an honour. He asserted that, "there are traces of a common origin amongst them all."[53]

The Nāḍārs occupied a social-limbo somewhere between the Sūdrās and the outcaste untouchables.[54] Caldwell described the Nāḍārs "as belonging to the highest division of the lowest classes or lowest of the middle classes; poor but not paupers; rude and

principal portion of the under-tenantry, paying rent that allows but little profit: in fact their soil rarely ensures them more than a hut affording an insufficient shelter, and permits them to subsist or rather starve throughout the year on coconut and fish. They are not remarkable as wanting intelligence, are indolent, harmless, tractable, and if deserving the charge of a timid pusillanimity, it must be ascribed to the state of vassalage in which they have been so long held."

50 Dr. T. K. Ravindran, New Light on Iḻavas of pre-christian era, Journal of Kerala Studies, Vol. I, pp. 359–368.

51 W. H. Dalton, *Missions in India* (London, 1854). p. 95.

52 H. R. Pate, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Pate says: "It must be supposed that the 'Sanrōr' theory has by any means spread a general infection over the whole community. In villages, near the source of its origin it finds often vehement supporters."

53 Robert Caldwell, *Tinnevelly Shanars*, pp. 4–5.

54 Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

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unlettered, but by many degrees removed from a savage state."[55] This inbetween position of the Nāḍār was also noted by Raja Rama Row, who described them as, "inferior to Śūdras and superior to Parayas."[56] "In some respects the position of the Shānārs in the scale of castes is peculiar. Their abstinence from spirituous liquors and from beef and the circumstance that their widows are not allowed to marry again, connect them with the Śūdra group of classes. On the other hand, they are not allowed as all Śūdras are, to enter the temples, and where old native usages still prevail, they are not allowed even to enter the courts of justice, but are obliged to offer their prayers to the gods, and their complaints to the magistrates outside, and their women, like those of the castes still lower, are obliged to go uncovered from the waist upwards. These circumstances connect them with the group of castes inferior to the Śūdras, but if they must be classed with that group, they are undoubtedly to be regarded as forming the highest division of it."[57]

The Nāḍārs were strictly prohibited from entering Hindu temples and from the use of public wells. But they had access to the Brahmin streets.[58] The Nāḍārs were by tradition forbidden to approach nearer than a specified number of paces to a man of higher caste. They were however allowed to approach them closer than the lower classes.[59] Not quite untouchable, they were regarded by caste Hindu as defiling. The Nāḍārs, Veḷḷāḷars, Ambaṭṭans, Vaṇṇāns, Nāyakkārs and Parayas claimed that they belonged to the right hand caste.[60]

There existed many divisions within this caste. Rhenius noted in 1827: "There are rich and poor, high and low, intelli-

55 Robert Caldwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.
56 Raja Rama Row, *Ramnad Manual* (Madras, 1889), p. 36.
57 Robert Caldwell, *Lectures on the Tinnevelly Mission* (London, 1857) pp. 44–45.
58 Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
59 J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* (Calcutta. 1896) 255; Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 32.
60 Samuel Mateer, "Pariah caste in Travancore" *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series XVI, 1884 (London, 1884) p. 181.

gent and ignorant, there are masters and servants among them, proprietors of lands, trees and villages; and labourers.... Their employment is chiefly the cultivation of the palmyra tree, which abounds here; many also live by agriculture; others by merchandise, and the poorer sort by carrying burdens...."[61] The whole employment and means of subsistence of the Nāḍārs were cultivation and palmyra toddy-tapping.[62] The palm-climber suffered always from hunger and poverty. His poverty was "as deep as that of the Pariar and Puller slaves in the rice-growing districts."[63] The season for tapping palmyra is six months from March to September.[64] The palmyra tree was praised as the *kalpa tree*, the Hindu Tree of life. "The Palmyra lives a thousand years," says a Tamil proverb, "and lasts another thousand years when it dies."[65] If

61 Letter from Messrs. Rhenius and Schmid regarding criticism of Tinnevelly Mission appearing in the Calcutta press, Aug. 7, 1827, in *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1827-28 (London, 1828), p. 162.
62 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society* 1823-24 (London, 1824), p. 227.
63 Robert Caldwell, *Tinnevelly Shanars*, p. 48.
64 In Kanyakumari, the palmyra season is from August to February.
65 William Ferguson, *The Palmyra Palm* (Colombo, 1850) Appendix pp. 1-5. "The 'Palm Poem', Tala Villasam by the Tamil poet Arunachalam of Kumbakonam extols to Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity, the supernatural origin of palmyra and its 801 uses. In a remote age, man as he grew discontent with creation as it came from the hands of Brahma, supplicated Siva to supply one thing which would at once feed the hungry, heal the sick, and enrich the people who for want of it, were trembling like water on the leaf of the lotus. Siva responded to man's entreaty and directed to Brahma to create the Palmyra. The tree was dedicated to Ganesa, the elephant headed son of Lord Siva. It was praised as the Kalpa Tree; the Hindu tree of life, and it was enthroned as one of the five trees of Hindu Paradise.

"There is a story that the Pandava Kings regained their lost kindgom because they ate the Palmyra fruit when in the wilderness. The Pandyan Kings are said to have worn garlands of Palmyra blossoms."

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the palmyra be left untapped it will cease to yield its juice.[66] The Cānnār climber ascends the tree as rapidly as a man could walk a distance of equal length.[67]

The missionaries recorded their first impressions about this community when they came to work among them. William Tobias Ringeltaube, the first protestant missionary in Travancore, wrote in his journal, June 19, 1806, thus: "The Shannars are a set of people more robust than other Indians, very dark in complexion, their features completely European, their ears protracted to the shoulders by mighty ornaments of lead. They divide themselves into five families one of which exclusively ascends the trees, from which practice, their hands and feet acquire peculiarly clumsy shape. Their religion is not Brahmanical, but consists in the worship of one Māḍan, formerly a washer man. Their habits are extremely simple."[68]

Another early missionary gives the following evidence. "They are not without abilities; but still seem to be a degree at least behind the Śūdras. The reason doubtless, is the abject state of slavery in which they have been held for ages by the superior castes. Their wants are very few, and their desires do not extend beyond the support of their bodies. Of course, their ideas and conversation reach no further than the employment in which they are engaged."[69]

Among the Nāḍārs, the Nāḍān land-lords enjoyed the ownership of the land and the palm trees. These land lords would

66 James Russel, Letter to the London Missionary Society, dated Nagercoil, January 24, 1856, *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, XX (August 1856), p. 168.

67 *Caldwell, Lectures on the Tinnevelly Mission*, pp. 34-35. The instruments used by the tapper are described in Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual* (Trivandrum. 1900), Vol. II pp. 393-94; and for tapping process, see Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp, 123-25.

68 Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the S. P. C. K. and S. P. G. F. P.* (Madras, 1881), p. 141; William Robinson (ed.) *Ringeltaube, the Rishi* (Sheffield, 1902) p. 69.

69 Extract from the Journal of Charles Rhenius, 1822, *Memoir of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius* (London, 1871) p. 241; Quoted by Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

"buy pariahs and paḷḷars to work in their houses as slaves, so as to retain their usual proud customs".[70] The Nāḍārs had not been in the habit of using any intoxicating drinks. "It is worthy of remark that the shanars, who extract the palmyra juice which when allowed to ferment is the ordinary intoxicating drink of the Hindu drunkard, avoid the use of it in its fermented state as carefully as the most punctilious Brahmin".[71]

With regard to their religion, there were both Saivites and Vaiṣṇavites. Subramaṇya or Murugan was the most popular god among the community. "But in those extensive tracts of the country, where the Shanars form the bulk of the population, and the cultivation of palmyra is the ordinary employment of the people the Brahmanical deities rarely receive any notice, and the appearance on the forehead of a few of the more devout, or of the wealthier class of a streak of holy ashes, the distinctive mark of Saivism is the only trace or sign of the influence of legitimate Brahmanism which one can see. Demonism in one shape or another may be said to rule the Shanars with undisputed authority".[72]

The major section of the Nāḍār community before their conversion to Christianity engaged in the direct worship of demons and evil spirits flitting through the air, lurking by the road side, dancing on the surface of the water, haunting houses and burial grounds, dwelling in trees, going to and fro through the earth and ever seeking to injure, torment and destroy mankind. They believed that after death, the spirit of the dead-man remained alive to do all kinds of mischief. Those devils were invariably full of malignity and hatred towards mankind.[73] They never attributed to these spirits feelings of gentleness and compassion. They never prayed to them for blessings and gifts. They only feared them, and gave offerings to them to

70 Letter to the Bishop from Rev. D. Gnanapragasam, July 15, 1867, in *Inquiries made by the Bishop of Madras* (Madras, 1868), p. 77.

71 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13: George Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission of the C. M. S.* (London, 1851), pp. 482–505.

72 W. H. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

73 *Ibid.*

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prevent their evil influence. There were male and female devils–Brahmin Śūdra, Christian, Pulaya and Paraya; native and foreign. They were believed to bring disease on men and cattle and frighten the timid in the dark nights. The noises and shrill screams heard in darkness were attributed to these devils. They believed that these devils also possessed men.[74] The origin of this vile and debasing worship can be attributed to the dense ignorance and superstition of early ages. The evil spirits worshipped were known by different names as *pūtām, pēy, piśācu* etc.[75]

One of the most important demons was called by the name of *Mādan*. He was supposed to be very tall and large, his body being of black colour and covered with hair, like that of a cow. As he could strike men and animals with sudden illness he was held in great fear. *Kuttīcāttan* was a spirit invoked to perform juggling tricks. If invoked, this spirit took revenge on the enemies of the person by various spiteful means, such as throwing stones on their houses, breaking their doors and putting dirt and clay into their food. There also existed several demons like *Mūccāndi Mūppan* (The old man of the three roads) *Karunkāḷi* (black Kāḷi) Mallan, etc.[76]

74 *Ibid.*

75 Samuel Mateer, *Land af Charity*, pp. 191–93

76 *Ibid.*, pp. 193–94 "There are numerous forms of Madan to which many mischievous acts are ascribed. 'Chula Madan" or "Furnace devil" is worshipped by potters, who dread his breaking their pottery while it is being burnt in the kiln; "Kumili Madan" or "Bubble Devil", dances on the surface of the water; "Poruthu Madan" is the "fighting devil" (too well known amongst ourselves): "Neesa Madan" is the "wicked devil".

"Chudala Madan", or "Graveyard demon", dwells in places where corpses have seen buried or burnt. A silly fable, in the usual style, is related of this demon as appearing dancing in a flame with a turban, cloth, short drawers bracelets, trident, javelin, bow, and a large club varnished with vermilion; which articles are still found in temples dedicated to his worship. "He received from Siva many privileges, such as to be worshipped by all persons living between Trevandrum and Madura, to receive human and animal sacrifices, to afflict virgins, to burn down cities, to break iron castles, to assume any shape his fancy might suggest at any time, and to play in deep waters like fishes

Under the title of female demons, the most important was Bhadrakāḷi, the tutelary deity of the Nāḍār community. The Nāḍārs claimed that they were the children of Bhadrakāḷi. This goddess represented the malignant aspect of the wife of Śiva, the god of destruction and lord of demons. She was believed to inflict epidemics, such as small–pox and cholera. All non–Brahmin classes sought to divert the wrath of the deity through supplication. Certain circumstances made her delight in blood and cruelty. So people offered human and animal sacrifices to propitiate her. There also existed the worship of Amman, closely related to the worship of Bhadrakāḷi, the personification of small–pox, the seeds of which she was said to sow upon the bodies of human beings. She was hence called *Muttāramma*, the mother of pearls.[77] Iśakki, another goddess, supposed to injure and possess women, was also worshipped by them. In Neyyūr the image of Paramasattee was worshipped.[78]

They never built temples for these malignant spirits. They built only small pyramids of mud in their honour, plastered and white washed, having the figure of a devil in front. Multitudes of such pyramids existed all over the Cānnār areas. The idols deposited in these thatched sheds were representations of Bhadrakāḷi. Some idols were found with buffalo heads. These structures were called devil–temples or *pēkōvils*.[79]

To appease and satisfy these primitive gods sometimes they presented offerings, devil dancing, processions and sacrifices, followed by bell music. The offerings to propitiate these demons were various, articles of food and drinks such as cakes and sweet meats, parched or bruised rice, roots, fruits, oil, milk and arrack, besides flowers.[80] In times of crises like famines and pestilence

The people, therefore, through fear worship him to the present day and present to him offerings of fowls, goats, fruits and flowers."

77 Our home in the wilderness — Recollection of North Tinnevelly, *Church Missionary Gleaner* (London, April, 1879) VI, p. 40.

78 *Missionary Chronicle*, October 1837; Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 197.

79 W. H. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

80 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 213-14.

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they offered animal sacrifices and libations of blood to secure their favour. The people in large numbers assembled together near the so-called pyramids or temples and after energetic beating of drums, sacrificed, an animal, sheep or goat. After the sacrifice they performed dancing.[81]

The dress of the devil dancer consisted of a high conical cloth cap, with tapes hanging down at either side, a jacket with embroidered representations of devils worked in red to denote their blood thirsty character; and a pair of short drawers, corresponding in style, with small bells attached to the border. Other instruments of the devil-dancer included a thick club and long wand, a trident, sacrificial knife and bangles for ankles with brass bells. The musical instruments or rather the instruments of noice chiefly used in the devil-dance were the *tom-tom* or ordinary Indian drum and the horn, with occasionally the addition of a clarionet, when the parties could afford it. But their favourite instrument was called the *bow*. The devil dancer danced to the tune of drums and horns and the deep tones of the devil-bow.[82] In proportion to the rise in tempo of the music, there was a corresponding increase in the excitement of the devil-dancer.[83]

81 W. H. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

82 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 214-217. The bell music formed one of the unavoidable items of these festivals. "A series of bells of various sizes is fastened to the frame of a gigantic bow, the strings are tightened so as to emit a musical note when struck, and the bow rests on a large empty brazen pot. The instrument is played on by a plectrum, and several musicians join in the performance. One strikes the string of the bow with the plectrum, another produces the bass by striking the brazen pot with his hand, and the third keeps time and improves the harmony by a pair of cymbals. As each musician kindles in his work, and strives to out-strip his neighbour in the rapidity of his flourishes and in the loudness of the tone with which he sings the accompaniment, the result is a tumult of frightful sounds, such as may be supposed to delight even a demon's ear."

83 *Ibid.* pp. 215-18. Mateer says: "Some times to help him to work himself up into a frenzy, he uses medicated droughts, cuts and lacerates his flesh till the blood flows,

These ceremonies were conducted annually and in time of epidemics. The principal devil-temple in Travancore was at Agastīśvaram, near Cape Comorin, the head quarters of the Nāḍār tribe. This temple, which is said to have been built in ten days with the help of demons, was dedicated to Muttār Amman. The image was of silver. On festival occasions the temple was covered with cloth, flowers, banners and other ornaments. Hook-swinging cermony also existed in these devil temples connected with festivals.[84]

lashes himself with a huge whip, presses a burning torch to his breast, drinks the blood of the sacrifice, putting the throat of the decapilated goat to his mouth. Then, as if he had acquired new life, he begins to brandish his staff of bells, and to dance with quick, but unsteady step. Suddenly the afflatus descends; there is no mistaking that glare, or those frantic leaps. He snorls, he snarts, he gyrates. The demon has now taken bodily possession of him; and though he retains the power of utterance and of motion, both are under the demons control, and his separate consciousness is in abeyance. The by-standers signalize the event by raising a long shout, attended with a peculiar vibratory noise, caused by the motion of the hand and tongue, or the tongue alone. The devil dancer is now worshipped as a present diety; and every by-stander consults him respecting his disease, his wants, and welfare of his absent relatives, the offerings to be made for the accomplishment of his wishes, and in short, respecting everything for which superhuman knowledge is supposed to be available."

84 *Ibid.*, pp. 219—20 Hook-swinging was practised in Travancore in connection with festivals of temples. "An immense cart is made, with great wheels and high upright pole, on the top of which a cross beam 30 ft. in length is fastened so as to turn round. Persons who are to be swung in fulfilment of vows, or in token of gratitude for recovery from sickness, (usually boys, or a man with a young child in his arms), are not allowed for some days previously to eat fish, flesh &c., but only boiled rice once a day, which they must cook with their own hands to avoid pollution. They bathe twice a day, and live apart from others. When about to be swung, their ears, neck, and waist are adorned with golden ornaments, and a silver belt or chain, and while swinging they carry in one hand a shield, in the other a sword.

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This class of people suffered much from the oppression of the government and caste Hindus. The government imposed oppressive and severe taxes on them. The most obnoxious was a capitation tax. The manner in which it was collected angered the people more than the amount of the tax, although they kept quite.[85] In 1754, a head-tax was imposed on the Nāḍārs to meet the military expenditure. The meanest tax was one *kuppakāḷca* – really a house tax, one paṇam for each hut. The Nāḍārs, Parayas and Paḷḷas paid this.[86] There was also an important tax named *Puruṣantaram*, a tax of 25%, nominally levied by the government on all heritable property. "Always equally arbitrary in valuation, as rigid in exaction, *the Poorshandrum* was perhaps even more severely, certainly more generally felt than the *Parachitrum*, a branch of finance, or fines levied at the discretion of the chief officers, whose zeal was kept in motion by sharing in reality the largest part of these amercements......"[87] There were various forms of taxes—house tax; taxes on oil-mills, bows, iron and forges, exchangers, palanquins, boats and nets, hunting, keeping civet cats, musicians, drummers; dues at the festivals of Onam, Dīpavali, harvest, the end of the year and various anniversaries, and on occasions of royal marriages, birthdays, etc.[88] The people paid these excessive taxes because of the fear of collectors.[89]

The Nāḍārs groaned under the yoke of the heavy poll-tax imposed on them generations before. They paid poll-tax not only for those who were alive, but also for the dead. To escape from paying this excessive tax several Nāḍār families emigrated to Tinnevelly. The government then went to the extent of collecting the amount of the tax from the representatives of the families thus emigrated. The revenue accounts of Travancore for 1807-8

" Strong hooks of gold, silver, or iron, according to the means of the worshipper are inserted in both sides, and are secured with cloth bandages; the devotee is then fastened to the end of the horizontal beam, and is drawn up and swung rapidly round for ten or fifteen minutes."

85 Ward and Conner, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
86 Samuel Mateer, *Native life in Travancore*, p. 292.
87 Ward and Conner, *op cit.*, p. 104.
88 Samuel Matteer *Native life in Travancore*, p. 292.
89 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 584-85.

show that the Government collected Rs. 88,044 as poll–tax from Nāḍārs and Īḻavas; and Sirkar *pāṭṭom* tax on trees from which they drew toddy to earn their livelihood amounted to Rs. 18,523, while the poll–tax on Ceṭṭies and other castes amounted to only Rs. 4624.[90] They were also compelled to render grievous ūḻiyam services (work without pay) to the Sirkar.[91]

Ringeltaube observed the sufferings of these people and writes: "They (Shanars) are thrown into the hands of usurers who take 100 percent (happy even at this condition any one will or can lend them) and their profit, their livelihood is swallowed up at one gulp. There is not a fowl that is not taken, but human life in an indirect way....". The revenue collectors exacted the amounts arbitrarily and inflicted fear into the minds of the poor people. Ringeltaube continues: "On the 21st November 1812 Veeraputtra Pillay, the Turrakar (tax peon) of Cotaram in the district of Agasteeswaram came to Tamarakulam and called on the Kareikar Gooroo Swami (the same unfortunate Christian whom Dr. Proven cured of the ulcerated cheek) for all the taxes of his sub-division in anticipation of the coming year. The demand was 112½ fanams on 18 houses for Taleivari, Veleipadivu, and Kareilickanam. Gooroswami replied, he was ready to pay a monthly instalment as per mamool but he was not prepared to advance a whole year's taxes. Veeraputtra Pillai then took the fire-lock from the attending tana peon and having taken out the flint screwed it with the cock to the poor Shanar's ear, where it hung eighty minutes till the money was procured. Two other Christians Narainen and Mara Perumal has the Fire–locks hanging nearly two hours on their ears in the same place. They say the pain is very great. This is now the common practice all over the Shanar country......The women in the absence of their husbands are tortured by having rice pestill twisted into their hair or a great stone placed on four small pebbles on their backs standing all the time in an unnatural posture."[92]

90 *Ibid.*, p. 573.
91 *Directorate of State Archtves*, Fort, Trivandrum, Nīttu exempting the Christians from Ūḻiyam Services. See Document No. III (Malayalam.)
92 Quoted by C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 585-86.

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They were subjected to such treatment even for slight mistakes. The caste Hindus enjoyed the right to punish them in any manner they liked. Bartalomeo says: "At Quilon, I saw a native of the caste of the Shanars hanging on a gallows for having stolen three coconuts in the house of a Nayar. The *corpus delicti* was suspended from his neck, in order that it might serve as a warning to all passengers."[93] The unwritten rules and customs aimed at the oppression of the common people terrified them.

No better was the treatment meted out to the Nāḍār women. They were forbidden to wear any clothing whatever above the waist. This they considered a great insult and humiliation because their sisters in the neighbouring province of Tinnevelly were freely allowed to wear whatever clothes they preferred. They were not allowed to carry umbrellas, to wear shoes or golden ornaments, to carry pots of water on the hip, to build houses above one storey in height, to milk cows, or even to use the ordinary language of the country. They were not paid for their labour.[94] But they valued chastity and their men did all that they could to protect their women from humiliation and dishonour that might come from the so-called higher castes and royal family. A story current among the community shows this: Enchanted by the beauty of a Nāḍār girl, a King of Travancore once sent his bodyguards, the Nairs, to her father to take away the girl, but he refused. The Nairs left him with a warning that the Rajah would come in the evening to have relation with her. The father in the evening, before the arrival of the Rajah to his house, cut his daughter to pieces and threw her into a nearby well and then jumped into the same well himself. This disappointed Rajah gave away a lot of money to Brahmins and conducted sacrifices to make amends for this great sin that led to the death of an unmarried girl and started a tradition of paying a certain amount to the Brahmins every year on the day of her death, which continued till recent times.[95]

93 Quoted Samuel Mateer, *Native life in Travancore*, p. 290.
94 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 41.
95 Interview with Prof. Balarama Panickar, the former Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum. The story is current among the Nāḍār community. Interview with K. Sam, Editor of Nanpan, (Malayalam Weekly), Trivandrum.

Those who died in childbed were supposed to be killed by demons; hence the offerings to evil spirits. Branches of margosa tree were used to prevent the entrance of the demons into the houses of pregnant women and during the time and after the birth of the child.[96] Their whole life was made burdensome by superstitions and vain terrors.

The Nāḍārs were industrious, simple-minded, rude, unskilled and somewhat coarse in person and habits. But they were neither destitute of shrewdness nor insensible to kindness, though long oppression had rendered them suspicious and covetous.[97] They ate freely of flesh and fish and drank the toddy they extracted from the palm trees.[98] Their superstitions, though gross and debasing, were less complex and fascinating to the native mind than those of the Brahmins.[99] With the spread of Christianity they made great progress in intelligence, civilisation and morals, and developed a strong movement within the community for rights and freedom.

The lowest section of the feudal society in Travancore consisted mostly of Parayas and Pulayas. In the first half of the nineteenth century they were really slaves and were bought and sold like cattle. These people enjoyed no privileges: they were groaping under several burdens. "Their name is connected with every thing, revotting, shunned as if infested with the plague, the higher classes view their presence with a mixture of alarm and

96 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 211.
97 George Pettitt, *op. cit.*, p. 481.
98 *Manual of the Administration of Madras Presidency* (Madras, 1885), Vol. II, p. 232.
99 Samuel Mateer., *Land of Charity*, p. 42. In his Reminiscences, Bishop Caldwell had recollected his first experience of the Nāḍārs. "I found the people of the place in a very low state of civilisation .... They were all accustomed to work with their hands, not with the heads — most of them with both hands and feet in climbing the palmyra and had neither the leisure nor inclination for intellectual culture" J. L. Wyatt (ed), *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell* (Madras, 1894), p. 84.

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indignation; and even towns and markets would be considered as defiled by their approach."[100] The Pulayas were known by the name of *Cerumakkaḷ*. They were not valued much above the cattle, united with them in the same bondage and greatly below them in estimation. According to Mateer, "one born of a Brahman female by a Sudra was called, chandalan or Parayan."[101] The Parayas claimed that they reigned in ancient times as Nanten, King of Bahar, son of a Śūdra maid servant, Kūkken (Guha), the friend of Rama in the Ramayana, and Atikāman, born of a Paraya woman and brought up by Cēramān. Raja Hariścandra, the great grand-father of Rama, was brought up by a Paraya, as stated in the Drama, 'Hariścandra'. King Vīra Kumāran and his mother were supported by a Paraya and his kingdom strengthened by thousands of them. Vasiṣṭa, the great *guru* and teacher of Rama was born of a dancing woman by Brahma and is said to have married a Paraya woman, who in consequence of her chastity became, on her death, a star in the Zodiac.[102] On the basis of the surviving vestiges Mr. Walhouse observed that the Parayas exercised ancient power and a high position "as masters of the land before the arrival of the Brahmanical races."[103]

Although they claimed a great tradition, the condition of the Parayas in Travancore was lamentably low. They were prohibited from drawing water from the wells of other castes. They dug their own wells near their habitations, round which they placed the bones of animals to prevent the access of caste Hindus. If a Paraya was permitted to speak with a caste man, he was obliged to hold his hand before his mouth, lest the so-called high caste man be contaminated with his breath.[104] If a caste man touched a Paraya by accident, he was obliged to purify himself by a bath. The Brahmin

100 Lt. P. E. Conner, Extract from the General Memoir of the Survey of Travancore, *Journal of Literature and Science* (Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society) No. I, October 1833, p. 4.
101 Rev. S. Mateer, Pariah caste in Travancore, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, (London, 1884) Vol. XVI, pp.180-81.
102 *Ibid.*
103 *Ibid.* p. 182.
104 Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), Vol. VI, p. 78.

could not behold them and they were obliged to fly when they appeared.[105] Samuel Mateer described thus the behaviour, manners and customs of this class of people: "They were formerly bought and sold like cattle, starved, flogged, 'like buffaloes' made to work all day for a little rice, and kept at a distance as polluted; and they still are in a position of subservience and deep degradation, not vitally differing from that of the Pulayas and Vedars. One particular characteristic of the caste, and most offensive to others, is that they eat the flesh of bullocks and cows left dead by the road-side. They cut it up and bear it away, what they leave the vultures and dogs devour. The Pariahs of Nevandrum (Trivandrum) District live in clusters of huts, and eat the putrid flesh of dead cattle, tigers and other animals.

"They are zealous devil worshippers, their chief demons being Madan (the cow one) Rathachamandy Mallan (the giant) and Muvaratta Mallan, Karunkali (black kali), Chavus (departed spirits) Bhutham, Mantramurtti, and other Murttis (ghosts), with many other evil beings, to whom groves and altars are dedicated. The souls of their deceased ancestors are called Marutta (ghosts) for whose worship young coconut leaves are tied at the bottom of a tree, and a small shed is erected on poles, and decorated with garlands of flowers. Presents of coconuts, parched rice and arrack are offered, and cocks killed in sacrifices. In the devil dancing they use clubs and rattans, bells, hand-kerchiefs, and cloths dedicated to their deities. Other castes generally dread incurring the displeasure and malice of these deities. Sudras and Shanars frequently employ the pariah devil dancers and sorcerers to exercise demons, search for and dig out magical charms buried in the earth by enemies, counteract their enchantments; and, in cases of sickness, sent for them to beat the drum, and so discover what demon has caused the affliction, and what is to be done to remove it. Some times a present of a cow is given for those services. These pretended sorcerers are slightly acquainted with a few medicines, profess to cure snake bite, and can repeat some tales of the Hindu gods. They also

105 Sonner Set, *Voyages to the East Indies*, quoted by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VI, p. 78.

profess to discover thieves, who sometimes, indeed, through fear actually take ill, confess, and restore the property."106

Some Parayas of Nāñcināḍ possessed ancestral property and titles. Titles like Sāmbavan, an old name for Pāndi Parayan, were purchased for money from the Rajah of Travancore. The Raja gave to such a head man a cane and authority to claim a double allowance of betel etc. He, however, had in his turn to give double at funerals and festivals to his visitors. This head Parayan was met with drums and marks of honour by his people and the arrangement enabled the government to rule the Parayas more easily.107

The condition of the Parayas of North Travancore was the lowest of all. They enjoyed no opportunities of escape from caste degradation and servitude. "They are regarded as so unclean that they are supposed to convey pollution to persons of other castes by contact and even by approach. They are so miserably provided with the necessaries of life, that the most loathsome things such as carrion are a treat to them, and are swallowed by them with avidity. Their persons and property are entirely at the disposal of their masters, by whom they are bought and sold like cattle and are even worse treated. They are addicted to robbery, burglary, kidnapping and other crimes, which in connection with their ceremonial uncleanness of person, render them objects of aversion to all parties.

"Their most common crime, however, is the killing of cows, belonging to others, by secretly administering poison to them. In this their interest and feelings are alike concerned; for the carcases of all domestic animals in whatever manner dying belong to them by right and custom, and also they feel the same horrid satisfaction in the slaughter of a cow as in murdering a Brahmin, both the crimes being of equal magnitude in the opinion of the Hindus.

106 Rev. S. Mateer, pariah caste in Travancore, *J. R. A. S.* XVI, pp. 180-95

107 *Ibid.*

The state of these poor creatures is in every point of view so wretched."108

To escape from oppression several families begged the Nambūdiri high priest, visiting Śucīndram, and other temples to call them his slaves, for which they paid him one paṇam for an year per head. This priest conferred upon them additional benefits, for, in their troubles and oppressions, he wrote to the government requesting for them justice and proper treatment. The slaves of a Nambūdiri were treated with consideration on account of his sacred position and rank. They were called by the name *pōtty slaves*.109

In the months of February and March they turned robbers according to custom and kidnapped several women belonging to caste Hindus. They treated these women in the most brutal manner, actuated more by motives of revenge than by interest. "In former times they appear to have been able to perpetrate these cruelties almost with impunity, from the fear of which the people still betray great uneasiness, though the custom has now grown into disuse."110

In cases of sickness, the diviner was first consulted and then sacrifices were offered to the demon as per instructions of the diviner. The diviner "spreads cowdung thinly over a small space in the yard, where he places the offerings on three plantain-leaves, invokes the presence of the demons, dances and repeats mantras, looking towards the east. He catches the demon that is supposed to come in an old piece of cloth filled with flowers and parched rice, and carries both demon and offerings into the jungle, where again preparing a spot as before two torches are set, the food arranged, and after further mantras a fowl is sacrificed. He takes

108 Rev. George Māttan's Diary, October 12th 1849, in the M. C. M. Record; *Alleged Religious Persecution — An Explanation* (Pamphlet), p. 2.

109 Samuel Mateer, Pariah caste in Travancore, *J.R.A.S*, XVI p. 194.

110 George Māttan's Diary, M. C. M. Record, 1850, quoted by Edgar Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 139.

the whole afterwards for himself, get a good meal, and is al[so] paid twelve chuckrams for the service."[111]

Large numbers of the Parayans were agricultural labourers. They were a laborious, frugal and pleasure-loving people. They were really the life blood of the country. They were ingenious in wicker-works. They pretended to be great macromancers and their masters respected their powers and feared their spells. This put a check on the caprice of their owners.[112]

As to the class of soil slaves the lowest were the Pulayas.[113] They never possessed property of any kind and their life was one of starvation and want. A considerable number of them belonged to the government. They were partly employed on government lands and partly rented out to the ryots.[114] Their deplorable condition was described by M. S. Appadorai Iyer thus: "When a Cherumar meets a person of superior caste, he must stand at a distance of 30 ft. If he comes within this prohibited distance, his approach is said to cause pollution, which is removed only by bathing in water. A Cherumar cannot approach a Brahman village or temple, or tank. If he does so, purification becomes necessary. Even while using the public road, if he sees his lord and master, he has to leave the ordinary way and walk, it may be in the mud, to avoid his displeasure by accidentally polluting him. To avoid polluting the passers-by, he repeats the unpleasant sound 'O, Oh, o–.' His position is intolerable in the princely states of Cochin and Travancore, where Brahman influence is in the ascendant."[115]

They considered the Barbers, Maṇṇāns (Washer men), Pāṇans, Vēṭṭuvans, Parayas, Nāyādis etc., as inferior to them.[116] When defiled by the touch of a Nāyāḍi a Pulayan was expected to bathe in seven tanks, and let a few drops of blood flow from one of his fingers. A Brahmin had to change his holy thread and take *pañcagavyam* (the five products of the cow), if he entered the

111 Rev. S. Mateer, Parish caste in Travancore, *J. A. R. S.* p. 188. Chuckrams were small copper coins.
112 Lt. P. E. Conner, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
113 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 302.
114 Lt. P. E. Conner, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
115 Quoted by Edgar Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 51–52.
116 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

compound of a Pulayan. A Pulayan must keep a distance of 90 ft from Brahmins and 64 ft from Nairs.[117] "The condition of these unhappy beings is, without a parallel in the whole range of history. They are so wretchedly provided with the necessaries of life that the most loathsome things are a treat to them. They are bought and sold like cattle, and are often worse treated. The owners had formerly power to flog them and enchain them, and in some cases to maim them, and even to deprive them of their lives. They are everywhere paid for labour at the lowest possible rates consistent with keeping life. They are valued differently in different places. The price of an able-bodied slave in the low country, where their wages are comparatively high, is not more than six rupees. . . . . . .

"The children of slaves do not belong to the father's master, but are the property of the mother's owner. In some places, however, the father is allowed a right to one child, which, of course, is the property of his master. This succession is by female line, in accordance with the custom of the Nayars, the principal land owners."[118]

The Pulayan received no education, for no one dared to teach him. The language he used was abject and degrading: "He dare not say 'I' but '*aḍiyen*', 'your slave', he dare not call his rice 'chōru' but '*Karikāḍi*' dirty gruel. He asks leave, not to take food but 'to drink water'. His house was called '*maḍam*' a hut, and his children 'monkeys' or 'calves', and when speaking, he must place the hand over the mouth, lest the breath should go forth and pollute the person."[119]

This evil system affected their manufactures adversely. Although umbrellas and other attractive articles manufactured by them showed their skill and workman-ship, that did not appeal to the privileged classes to purchase it from them directly. They coined a custom for these people to place these articles on the highway, shouting to the passers-by with reference to the sales,

117 Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Castes and Tribes*, Vol. I quoted by Edgar Thurston, *Ibid.*, pp. 52–53.
118 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life In Travancore*, p. 45.
119 *Ibid.*

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from the appointed distance. He could purchase articles only by placing his money on a stone kept at a distance. The seller took the money placed on the stone and left the goods for which he received the money.[120]

In some places they were driven to seek shelter in the jungle on the approach of a caste Hindu. So they experienced much difficulty in travelling from one place to another. They placed leaves while they were at work in the fields, as a mark of their presence to the casteman. They were not permitted to build their houses near the public roads, nor were they, as a rule, allowed to avail themselves of the Sirkar ferry boats to cross swollen rivers. They were also prevented from entering the markets to sell their produce. Although there existed a rule allowing them to possess property, they possessed none. If they cleared a little wasteland, their rich masters generally got the land registered in their own names.[121]

In early times the Pulayas, Parayas, Vedars etc., were let or transferred at the choice of the owner.[122] They were sometimes offered as gifts to temples. They were mortgaged with the land wherein they dwelt.[123] Through frequent and restless work in the agricultural fields, and standing for hours in the water they were exposed to rheumatism, fevers, cholera and other diseases, which carried off many in their young age. Their old age was miserable because they were left without work. This compelled them to beg or steal for their livelihood or to perish with hunger.[124]

Superstition with its attendant cruelties multiplied the sorrows arising from ignorance and pitiless oppression. The lower classes were prevented from access to public officials and courts. They were prevented from entering the dwellings of superior castes, or offering worship in any temple of the caste Hindus.[125] Now and then, they resorted to human sacrifices, as in other parts of the

120 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
121 *Ibid.*, p. 309.
122 Jacob Canter Visscher, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
123 Lt. P. E. Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–7.
124 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 43.
125 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 295.

country. In cases of repeated and destructive breaches in the banks of rivers and tanks, the caste Hindus ascribed the catastrophe to the displeasure of some deity or evil, and propitiated him by throwing a slave into the breach and quickly heaping earth upon him.[126]

In times of famine the poverty stricken parents sold their children for the sake of sustenance.[127] James Forbes, when he visited this country, witnessed this cruel practice. He says: "The number of poor people who came down to Anjengo and the other sea ports, from the inland country during a famine, either to sell themselves or to dispose of their children as slaves, is astonishing."[128]

Burdensome taxes were imposed on the socially backward classes. Fees were levied on their marriages.[129] Everything at all taxable was availed of, and every special occasion made an excuse for squeezing labour–classes of their hard earnings. There was tax for the hair one grew and for the breasts of the women, called a breast–tax. The inhumanity and injustice in the collection and nature of this tax compelled an Īḻava lady, who was unable to bear the humiliation of the caste Hindu tax collectors, to cut off one of her breasts and present it to them.[130] In spite of these harassments no steps were taken by the government to ameliorate the sufferings of these people. They tried to

126 Jacob Canter Visscher, *op. cit.*, p. 70. "It is not fifty years since an instance occured of this inhuman and disabolical practice in the immediate neighbourhood of Cottayam. A Zamindar was endeavouring to build up a bund, which the waters carried away as often as he made the attempt. Some Brahmans told him, he would never succeed till he had offered upon the bund three young girls. Three of the age of 14 or 15 were selected; the dreadful sacrifice was made, and the ground was strained by the blood of these innocent victims." Madras Church Mission Record, April 1849, quoted in Samuel Mateer, *Native life in Travancore*, p. 295.
127 *Ibid.* p. 71.
128 James Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
129 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore* p. 292.
130 N. R. Krishnan, *Ezhavas Yesterday and Today* (Malayalam) pp. 175–80.

exact much from them, but did nothing for their welfare. The Administration Report for 1040 M. E. says: "Gratuitous services of various kinds used to be exacted from them. They had to guard Sirkar properties in several places. They were compelled to work in the Sirkar forests in cutting down or transporting timber. They had to carry Sirkar things from place to place. They were largely impressed to convey Sirkar salt from the pans to the place of export. They had to supply firewood to certain charitable institutions — and so on. Families of these low castes were even allotted to certain private individuals, who were at liberty to obtain gratuitous services from such families."[131]

In earlier times the murder of a slave was not considered a crime. The deed of transfer was that "you may sell or kill him or her."[132] If a slave were to raise his hand to strike his master or mistress, or otherwise injure either he might be punished with death.[133] The bark (spatha) of the Areka furnished their whole clothing, which at best, never exceeded a bit of cloth, sufficient only for the purpose of decency.[134]

131 Quoted by Mateer, *Native life in Travancore*, p. 294.
132 Lt. P. E. Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–7. "Their masters have power to put them to death, without being called to account, or if they please, to sell them; though this is not often done without some good reason." Jabob Canter Visscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.
133 Jacob Canter Visscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 72. "No one may sell his slave to a Heathen, Jew or Turk, for by so doing he would place his soul in peril."
134 Lt. P. E. Conner, *op. cit.*, p. 71. "No Rajah has power to sentence to execution a Bramin or a Canarese, however, heinous his crime; but he may cause his eyes to be tornout, or his hand to be cut off by which he would be dishonoured and expelled from his caste. Capital punishment is executed in diverse methods. The criminal may stand upright and have his head cut off; or he may be shot, for which purpose he is made to stand unfettered and free in an open field, and three or four shots are rapidly discharged at him. If he be not wounded and begin to turn away he is pursued and fired at until he is killed, when his body is thrown into the river. Sometimes they im[illegible] criminals alive, piercing a sharp pointed stick right through the body, which soon puts an end to his life."

The [illegible]cruited from non-slave classes also. Certain social reas[illegible]d caste Hindu members and excluded them from their respective castes. They became slaves. So also, the Rajahs might sell into slavery persons of various castes who had committed any crime by which they lost caste, or were liable to capital punishment.[135] Slaves were some-times exported to other parts of India, but were not sold out of the country.

The social circumstances and daily life of the slave women, who were obliged to labour for their daily support and sometimes had nothing to eat on any day on which they remained idle, presented the extreme and enforced degradation in which they had been so long kept and the contempt and abhorrence with which they were regarded. They worked hard, suffered much from sickness and often from hunger and poverty. Their labours were paid for by grain. Two measures of paddy to a woman and one to a child, was their daily pittance.[136] The harvest was a period of comparative plenty for them, but their meagre, squalid appearance betrayed the insufficiency of their diet and the extreme hardships to which they were subjected.[137] Even the children born of them were not free. They had no idea of their personal rights and were never guilty of violence to their masters.[138]

Early in the morning these women went with a pot to their master's house asking for food and instructions for their day's work. After hardwork throughout, they returned in the evening fatigued and hungry to their huts to boil their rice and eat it with salt and pepper. At night they slept generally on the floor. They rarely bathed or washed their bodies. They wore the cloth purchased in harvest time, till it tore to pieces.[139]

In times of scarcity Vēḍar women went to the jungle and dug up various kinds of wild yams and tubers with pointed sticks. These products were their chief means of subsistence. The Pulayas went for hunting tiny fish and snails, took eggs of red ants and the winged white ants, to fill their stomach.[140]

135 *Ibid.*
136 Lt. P. E. Conner, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
137 Canter Visscher, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
138 Lt. P. E. Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–7.
139 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore* pp. 207–8.
140 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

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135 *Ibid.*

136 Lt. P. E. Conner, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

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138 Lt. P. E. Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–7.

139 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore* pp. 207–8.

140 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

Covering the bosom with clothing was forbidden to th[e] people. They went almost naked with only a few inches of cl[oth] round the loins. Caste regulations prevented these females fr[om] carrying the waterpot on the hip or side, but on the head. Th[ese] people were allowed only to wear ornaments made of brass. T[hey] also wore strings of glass beads around the neck and hanging [on] the breast.[141] Continuously harassed and molested, these peo[ple] were an asset to the nation rather than a burden. They paid [the] bulk of the taxes and it was from their work that the privile[ged] classes found their enjoyment.

The enlightened Government of Travancore actually d[id] nothing to ameliorate the sufferings of the people upto the est[a]blishment of British domination. The power of the Rajah w[as] absolute and uncontrollable, but he was directed to act on advi[ce] and generally through the ministration of the Brahmins— divinity in the human form, his first and main duty is to infl[ict] punishment according to the shasters (shastras)."[142] All authori[ty] was distributed to various officials by the Rajah, at his pleasu[re]. They were not given regular salaries, but grants and profits [of] oppression.[143] There existed no independent tribunals. Judici[al] powers were invested with the executive officers and they decide[d] cases. The Rajah was the highest court of appeal, but really n[o] one approached him. "Their legal suits are tried, according t[o] old customs, *viva voce*. No lengthy proceedings are required t[o] obtain the decision of the cases, which are always conclude[d] within a few days by the fiat of the Rajah, who in obscure cases consults with his Brahmans."[144] The condition of the backwar[d] classes was not taken into account in these matters; they had n[o] rights. and would make no claim.

The administration of the state was corrupt. Bribery an[d] nepotism were the order of the day. All the officers from the Dewan at the top to the peon at the bottom rece[-] ived bribes in one way or other. The Dewan was investe[d] with authority over all the departments of Government an[d]

141 *Ibid.*, pp. 340–41.
142 George Norton, *Rudimentals* (Madras, 1841). pp. 287–88.
143 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 289.
144 Jacob Canter Visscher, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

the Rajahs spent their time in sensual pleasures, and was sometimes the tool of the Dewan.[145] The country was divided into 32 *Maṇṭapattumvātukkals* or districts, having a Tahsildar at the head of each; under him the *Samprati Pillay* or the Principal Accountant of the district, two or three Piḷḷas or Assistant Accountants; the *Mutalpiṭikkar* or cash-keeper, six or eight Peons employed in collection;two or three *Valiya Tuḍikar* who acted as hircarra, also several *Pravarticars* managing smaller divisions.[146] These officers were supreme in their respective fields, who acted as agents of the Rajah and Brahmins, oppressed and exacted money from the people in an unjust manner. The pay of a peon, the lowest officer, was too small and this inspired him to commit petty oppressions on ryots, in which the timid and passive disposition of the lower classes greatly encouraged them. For paying for their appointments and giving annual presents, these officers were obliged to squeeze the necessary amounts from the poor people.[147] This unscientific administrative system was beneficial only to the caste Hindus, for they were the actual rulers.

Severe punishments were inflicted to put the people under control. The congested prisons further aggravated the criminals.[148] Severe fines and mutilation of limbs were also resorted to. Cases without proof were decided by solemn oaths, "which are ordinary

145 Ward and Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–97.
146 *Ibid.*, p. 97. There were also many officers employed in the collection of pepper customs, in-charge of the several *Pāṇṭikaśālas*, etc. The most important officers were, the Dewan Peishkar, Tāna Śeristadār, or Head of the Police, Valiya Mēleḻuttu Piḷḷa, or Accountant General, Mēleḻuttu Piḷḷamars, Gumastas, or various ranks of Accountants, Añcal Piḷḷamars, Postmasters, etc., etc.
147 *Ibid.*, p. 102; Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 289.
148 Canter Visscher *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71. The prisons were, "no heavy edifices of stone, nor furnished with iron gratings and strong bars, but are mere quandrangular enclosures, the size of a man in length, breadth, and height, made of wooden gratings nailed together. Above them is a small loft where the Nairs who guard the prisoners pass the night and usually take a nap. Such prisons as these would in Europe, be more fit to keep fowls than human beings."

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in common affairs."[149] Crimes of murder, assault and rob
were prevalent in those days and outrages were freely comm
upon the weak and defenceless. Rebellions were suppressed
much severity. Pachu Muthatu says: "For the restoratio
peace at that time (A. D. 1802) punishments were too se
beyond the law. Krishna Pillay sepoy and others who rebe
were tied to the feet of elephants and torn asunder. Blo

149 Jacob Canter Visscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–71. There
several extraordinary oaths. "When a man is charged
a heavy crime, which cannot be proved or which he
not confess, a tisal or pan cantaining coconut oil is brou
and heated in the presence of the Rajah and his court
and Bramins; the accused is then asked whether he
confess the deed, and if he refuses, he raises his eyes
heaven, imploring the protection of the gods in the defe
of his righteous cause, and then plunging his thumb a
two first fingers into the boiling oil he pulls out a r
placed at the bottom of the pan. This being done, a *pan*
or physician comes and binds up the three fingers w
pisang leaves, which must be left on them for three da
if at the end of this time the flesh where the skin has b
burnt off is white, he is pronounced innocent, but if blac
he is punished as a perjured man.

"There is another ordeal by snakes or cobra capell
When a man will not confess his crime, they take a man
and wrap up in it one of these reptiles, which are not o
poisonous, but are also reckoned sacred by them; af
calling on the gods, the accused must thrust his hand in
the mantle and lift up the snake. If he be bitten, he
considered guilty.

"Another ordeal takes place in a river or a tank in whi
crocodiles are found. The Cayman's (alligator's) Pago
on the river Cranganoor close to Palliporte is especial
famous for this process. A small heathen temple stands o
the bank of this river, in which two crocodiles have f
a long time been supported, their daily food being throw
into the water, so that they are induced by bait to rema
there. To undergo this ordeal, the accused is compell
after a solemn profession of innocence in the presence
the Bramins and nobles, and of a great concourse
people, to swim across this river and back, or if he cann
do this he must be dragged through, holding on with h
hands to a boat. If the crocodile pulls him under, it is
sign of his guilt; if otherwise, he is released as innocen

from the mouth of a cannon, impaling and hanging, gouging out the eyes, cutting off hands, nose and ears, were inflicted for trifling offences." Devasahayam Piḷḷa, a convert to Christianity in 1752, was "taken from village to village, riding on a buffalo daily, beaten with eighty stripes, pepper rubbed in his wounds and nostrils, exposed to the sun and had only stagnant water to drink."[150]

Narrow and short-sighted laws, exclusive legislation, and oppressive monopolies, etc., effectively hindered the extension of trade, the growth of commerce and the spread of agriculture; while barbarous caste restrictions which separated people into the privileged and the unprivileged, produced disunion and national weakness. Whenever there was a legislation to stop the oppression of the poor people, the officers and other Government servants abstained from enforcing it. So the previous state of severe oppression continued.[151]

In such a social set–up, if some one comes to take up leadership and ameliorate the sufferings of the vast majority of the people and protect them, enlightenment and revolts are inevitable. With the beginning of British influence and spread of Christianity and education, the people began to think of themselves as human beings, having the same rights and freedom as enjoyed by the caste Hindus.[152] They began to show their dissatisfaction with native laws and customs. This dissatisfaction was reflected through many rebellions for rights, the most important of them being the 'upper–cloth movement.'

150 Quoted in Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 291.
151 *Ibid.*, p. 309.
152 Ward and Conner, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

chwartz,
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of

3

PROTESTANTISM AND CHANGE

The Maharajah of Travancore signed a treaty with the British East India Company in the year 1788 to protect the country against the aggressions of Tippu Sultan,[1] which in fact prepared the ground for many a social change in the country. The most important change in the social set up came as a result of the introduction of Protestant Christianity in this country by the missionaries with the help of the Company people. Several mass movements started and they were for freedom from oppression and social restrictions. The most powerful of these movements was the one by the Nāḍār and other backward communities for the right of women to cover their bosoms.

The first conversions of Christianity from the Nāḍār community were made by Father John De Britto. He penetrated as far as Vaḍakkankuḷam (Nāngunēri Taluk) in the south and succeeded in forming a congregation of the Nāḍārs in that area by 1685.[2] Under Father Borghese, the first resident missionary of Kāmanāyakanpatti, a village in the Tinnevelly district, the work of conversion among this caste progressed rapidly in the

1 Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company. VI Political, Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 16th August 1832, Appendix No. 20 p. 195.

2 H. R. Pate, *Madras District Gazetteers*, *Tinnevelly* (Madras,

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Travancore.[3] Father Calini, who was stationed at Va… kulam, wrote in 1716: "By its numbers and its wealth, the Shanan caste is in comparison with all other castes admirably adapted to Christianity. In fact, the Shanans could easily observe the Christian practices. The nature of their life, the necessity of climbing palmyras, preserves them from laziness, the foundation of all disorders. Besides, they are gifted with an excellent disposition, most inclined to religious matters."[4]

It was with the spread of Protestant Christianity among the Nāḍārs and other unprivileged classes that the revival started. The light came from Tanjore and received its inspiration from Tinnevelly.[5]

The southern part of India from Pāḷamkoṭṭa and Maṇappāḍ down to Cape Comorin had been formerly visited by native catechists and priests from Tranquebar, the home of Protestant Mission in India.[6] The first European missionary who visited these areas was a Danish by name Schwartz who had settled down in Tanjore, and who was ably assisted by a native priest named Satyanādhan.[7] The native priests and catechists had often written to Tranquebar describing the increasing readiness with which the Gospel was received and the great effects which might be expected if a missionary would go there and settle for a time

1917), Vol. I, p. 90.

3 John Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits* (1762) Vol. I, p. 357; James Hough, *History of Christianity in India* (London, 1839), Vol. III, p. 221.

4 H. R. Pate *op. cit.*, p. 90.

5 Rev. Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia* (London, 1811), pp. 57–58; C. M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, (Madras, 1903), p. 424.

6 J. Ferd Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission* (Madras, 1906) p. 192. Claudius Buchanan says: "Tranquebar was the first scene of Protestant Mission in India......The Church was consecrated in 1718, and Ziegenbalg and his companion died in two years after. They laid the foundation for evangelizing India, and then departed, having finished the work, which was given them to do." Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 58–60.

amongst the country people. Gericke, the successor of Schwartz, however, at an old age devoted his life to preaching the Gospel to the poor and backward people in the southern most parts of India.[8]

The history of Protestant missionary effort in Tinnevelly goes back to the era of the Poligar wars. In 1778, the Danish missionary Schwartz visited Paḷamkōṭṭa and baptized a Hindu woman who did meritorious services for the advancement of Christianity. He mentions the existence of a few Christians in Tinnevelly. In 1790, he ordained Satyanādhan, one of his catechists, and put him in charge of the Tinnevelly Mission.[9] He observed something peculiar in the inhabitants of Tinnevelly which encouraged him to cherish hopes of their conversion.[10]

Very soon a strong movement started among the Nāḍārs of the south, especially in Tinnevelly. The first Protestant convert from this class was a man by name David of Kālankuḍiyiruppu. He propagated Christianity among his community with renewed zeal and enthusiasm and several thousands were converted to Christianity. Before 1800, Mudalūr had become the first Christian settlement in Tinnevelly. Between 1800 and 1803, there was a rush into the fold of Christianity.[11] Since 1791, German missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had been in charge of the district; Jaenicke from 1792 till his death in 1800, and Gericke from 1800 to 1804. The magnetic Christian waves sent out from Tinnevelly and the influence the Christian Nāḍārs gained there, reached and influenced the South Travancore people who were looking for an opportunity to embrace the new faith.

The introduction of Protestant Christianity in Travancore had some interesting peculiarities, when compared with that of the Syrian and Roman Catholic faiths. The most important aspect is that Protestantism was first zealously propagated in Travancore by

8 Ferd Fenger, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

9 H. R. Pate, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

10 James Hough, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 678.

11 H. R. Pate, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94.

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a native by name Mahārāśan of Mylady, who belonged to a backward caste.[12] This great enquirer of truth, who was a worshipper of Eḷankamānyaṇ[13] first, came to know about the great temple at Cidambaram where, he believed, he could attain *Sayūjya*, which according to the Saivas, is the fourth or the highest degree of bliss-Union with God. At about 1799, he visited the Cidambaram temple in Tanjore, where lived his cousin and brother-in-law, who were Christians.[14]

When Mahārāśan came to Tanjore, the Tanjore Mission was under the control of a Danish missionary by name Rev. Fr. John Caspar Kohlhoff.[15] Accompanied by his relatives, Mahārāśan came to the Tanjore church. He was struck by the personality and Christian speech of the missionary Rev. Kohlhoff and after studying Christian principles, became a Christian.[16] Rev. Kohlhoff baptized him and changed his name into Vēdamāṇikkam, 'the Gem of the Bible'. While at Tanjore, he decided to visit the Tranquebar Mission. The Christian missionaries in Tranquebar headed by Dr. John were very much interested in the new convert. After residing at both these places for about six months, he desired to return to his native place, Mylady. But the missionaries had their misgivings and fears. They feared that Mahārāśan would be exposed to great danger and persecution. They advised him to live in Tanjore; but he refused.[17] He requested them to send one of their native teachers to help him in preaching the Gospel to his country men. The request was not granted because of the fears about Travancore.[18] "The people in these parts are afraid", they replied, "of the very name of your country: Malayalam is believed by them to be full of demons and heathenism of every form.

12 W. H. Dalton, *Missions in India* (London 1853), p. 102.
13 Eḷankamānyan Shrine was in Vaḷḷiyūr in Tinnevelly District.
14 Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the S. P. C. K. and S. P. G. F. P.* (Madras, 1881), pp. 129–30.
15 *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.
16 Dalton, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–3.
17 I. H. Hacker, *Kerala, The Land of Palms* (London, 1912), p. 86; C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 444.
18 *The Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. XXV, p. 439; Samuel Mateer, Native Life in Travancore, p. 291; Shungoony Menon, History of Travancore (Madras, 1878), p. 302.

Under such circumstances it is impossible for you or for us to expect our people to be willing to go so far away from their houses, and beyond the Ghauts; it is our firm hope that Travancore will yet be brought under the Government of the East India Company, when the Gospel will have free access to that distant land. Wait therefore and be with us. Be not hasty."[19]

Vēdamāṇikkam continuously insisted on his going home, and was reluctantly allowed by Rev. Kohlhoff. From the very next day after his return home, he began to preach the Gospel of Christ. He became the first native preacher of Protestant Christianity in Kerala. Within a day 30 persons professed Christ publicly and put themselves under Vēdamāṇikkam's instruction.[20]

When the teachings of Vēdamāṇikkam gained ground, persecution began and strong attempts were made to arrest its progress.[21] He was expelled from his community. The opposition was so strong that he seriously thought of leaving the country with his family to Tanjore, as he was once advised by Rev. Kohlhoff to do so. By this time membership of the Protestant Christian community had increased to about 150 in number. In February 1805, he committed the little group of Christians at Mylady to the care of Gnānamuttu, the head man of the family, and set out for Tanjore with the idea of obtaining the help of a catechist and to advocate their interference for the amelioration of the sufferings of the poor Christians.[22]

Rev. Kohlhoff advised Vēdamāṇikkam to proceed to Tranquebar and meet Mr. Ringeltaube, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, who had just arrived in India with the motive of propagating Christianity. He told Vēdamāṇikkam that Ringeltaube was studying Tamil in Tranquebar and requested him to invite him to labour in Travancore, a country which was neglected by all previous missionaries. Vēdamāṇikkam met

19 Quoted by C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 444–45.
20 Waskom Pickett, *Christian Mass Movement in India* (1933), p. 40; Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly*......pp. 129–30.
21 Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early*......pp. 55–60.
22 W. H. Dalton, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3.

Ringeltaube at Tranquebar and said to him that in South Travancore there was a wide field for his labours. Ringeltaube promised to labour in Travancore after acquiring some knowledge of the Tamil language.[23] Believing the words of Ringeltaube, Vēdamāṇikkam returned home happily with a catechist by name Yesudiyan to preach in Myladi.[24]

The mass conversions that took place among the Nāḍārs in Tinnevelly had its immediate effects, and the members of the community in Travancore followed the policy of their brothers. The Hindus took it as a great revolt against their established customs and practices. They persecuted the converts in various ways. Rev. Kohlhoff gives the following information about the Christians of Travancore and the sufferings of the converts connected with the Tinnevelly Mission. "Some inhabitants in the country of the Rajah of Travancore, on becoming acquainted with the truths of Christianity in a visit which they paid to one of their relations, who had embraced Christianity, and resided at Tranquebar for many years requested me to send a Catechist to instruct them and their relations, and I have had the pleasure to learn from the country priest that their request had been complied with, that the Catechist who had been sent thither had carefully instructed them to in the doctrines of Christianity, which they heard and learned with gladness, but that in consequence of a disturbance which had taken place in that country, the Catechist was obliged to retire, and that those good people, solicitous for the safety of the Catechist had sent some of their number to bring him safe beyond the limit of the Travancore country. As the authors of the disturbances have been subdued and peace and tranquillity resorted to the country, the Catechist will be able to pay those people another visit."[26]

Besides the request of Vēdamāṇikkam, several factors influenced Ringeltaube to labour in Travancore. Some influential

23 Mrs. Murray Mitchell, *In South India* (London, 1885), p. 185; Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 258.
24 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 452.
25 Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission*......, pp. 55–60.
26 *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.

government servants, having heard of the miserable state of affairs in Travancore and of the sufferings of the low class people, thought that they would somehow ameliorate their conditions by sending out missionaries, who should labour both for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the country.[27] Mr. Gratian, a gentleman, who lived in Maṇappār at this time, wrote a letter to a missionary friend of his at Tranquebar dated 8th June 1805, which was communicated to him. He concluded his letter with the following appeal: "I doubt not that these facts have been reported to the Rev. Mr. Kohlhoff by the country priest and if I mention them to you, it is with a view to show in what a forlorn state the poor Christians here about are and how desirable a thing it would be if the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube were to come hither as soon as possible. The tranquillity would be restored and future molestations prevented. I request you to communicate this letter to him with my compliments"[28] This letter left a deep impression on his mind, especially when he received a full account of the plight of the Christians. Ringeltaube writes: "They were frequently driven from their homes, put in the stocks, and exposed for a fortnight together to the heat of the raging sun; and the chilling dew of night, all because there is no European Missionary to bring their complaints to the ear of the Government, who, I am happy to add, have never been deficient in their duty of procuring redress, where the Christians have had to complain of real injuries."[29] He felt a deep desire to rush for the assistance of the poor people groaning under the yoke of casteism and domination of the upper classes.[30]

As a prelude to his works in South Travancore, he assumed charge of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Tinnevelly. While working in Tinnevelly his attention was directed to the Nāḍārs of South Travancore.[31] He believed that he could

27 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 470.
28 Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission*......, pp. 131–32.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 132.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 133. He wrote in his Journal: "Although I felt a deep desire to fly to the assistance of those poor Christians, there were many circumstances that seemed to hedge up my way."
31 Rev. Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 259–60.

convert thousands of people to Christianity from this oppress class.[32] He was quite aware of the great risk involved in h mission to Travancore. He wrote to a friend of his before h arrival in Travancore: "I am going to Travancore, which is f of devils. I do not know what will befall me there. Perhap may be killed there for preaching the Gospel.''[33]

On the 25th of April 1806, Ringeltaube entered Travanco through Āruvamoḷy Pass, his companions trembling at every st as they entered the land, for they were now on the groun altogether in the power of the Brahmins, the sworn enemies of th Christians. A little occurrence soon convinced them that the were not in British territory. Ringeltaube lay down to rest in a inn meant for Brahmins only, when the magistrate immediatel sent word to him to leave the place as his presence would invok the wrath of their god.[34]

He reluctantly obeyed and proceeded towards a nearby village Mylady, from where two men visited Tranquebar to request him t

32 His first impressions about this community were in hi own words very interesting—"When in the evening sittin in the verandah of the old fort (formerly the abode o power and luxury, now the refuge of a houseless travelle and thousand of bats suspended from ceiling), enjoyin the extensive prospect and communing with my own hear and the God to whom mercies and forgivenesses belon something frightened me falling suddenly at my feet and croaking *Parabaranukku Istotiram* i.e., God be praised. I rejoiced to see an individual of that tribe among whom I had been so anxious to labour, entered conversation with him as well as I could, to ascertain his ideas about religion but was soon non–plussed by his stupidity. I could no force a word from him in answer to my plain question which he contended himself with literally giving back to me. With a sigh I was forced to dismiss him. The Shanars are a set of people more robust than other Indians very dark in complexion, their features completely Euro pean, their ears protracted to the shoulders by mighty ornaments of lead." Quoted by C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 480-90.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 496.

34 Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission........*, pp. 152-54.

labour in Travancore representing that 200 Hindus were desirous of embracing the Christian religion. He stayed two days with them in their houses. They begged for a native teacher and told him that they could not build a church as all the country had been given by the Rajah of Travancore to the Brahmins. He spent there his first Sunday very uncomfortably in an Indian hut, in the midst of a noisy gaping crowd, which filled his house. His disappointment contributed to his unpleasant feelings, for although he had expected hundreds eager to listen to the Gospel, he had difficulty in persuading a few families to attend for an hour. On Monday he committed this infant flock to the charge of a catechist of the neighbouring congregation, who arrived to speak with him. The catechist was to come once a week to look after the Christians. Ringeltaube sent him to the local magistrate with a request not to persecute the Christians at Mylady and the official gave him a very favourable answer.[35]

The people of South Travancore belonging to backward classes were looking for a leader to represent their grievances to the government. When Ringeltaube came to work among them they found in him their leader. The yoke of servitude had been put on them by the privileged classes and they believed that they could break the yoke by embracing Christianity. When they came to know about the amelioration of the sufferings of their brothers and sisters in Tinnevelly through the labours of the missionaries, their desire to join the Christian fold increased tremendously. When Ringeltaube requested the magistrate not to persecute the Christians of Mylady, the people thought of escaping from social degradation and oppression by accepting the religion of the missionary, who was powerful in their eyes.

From Mylady, Ringeltaube started his journey to Cochin on 8th May 1806 to meet Col. Macaulay, on whose invitation he came to work in Travancore.[36] Macaulay requested Ringeltaube to remain in Cochin and start a Mission there. But Ringeltaube requested permission to erect a Protestant church at Mylady.

35 *Ibid.*

36 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 495.

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Macaulay promised to accord the necessary sanction and even offered to build the church at his own cost.[37]

On his way back, he met Dewan Vēlu Tampi at Quilon and asked for permission of the government to erect a church at Mylady. Vēlu Tampi flatly refused permission on the ground that it was an innovation on established customs.[38] Although Vēlu Tampi refused him permission, the missionary counted on the promise made by the British Resident. Col. Macaulay accordingly invited Vēlu Tampi to Cochin for a discussion on the construction of a Christian church at Mylady. Vēlu Tampi delayed sanctions for the construction of the church on specious arguments.[39]

The Government of India at this time deputed the Rev. Dr. Buchanan to visit the ancient Syrian churches of Travancore, enquire on their condition, suggest measures for their improvement, and report on the general state of Christianity in Malabar. At the end of October 1806, he reached Trivandrum and was the guest of the Rajah for a week at his palace. Observing that the Rajah was young and surrounded by selfish officers, he boldly entreated his host to afford better protection and to show interest in his Christian subjects.[40] He also reminded the Rajah of his promised sanction for the erection of a church at Mylady, still unjustly denied to Ringeltaube. He requested the Rajah to grant the permission speedily. The Rajah promised him that his request would be granted and he himself would select the spot to be given in a few weeks, when he would go to Śucīndram.[41]

37 *Ibid.*, p. 502.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 503.
39 *Ibid*, Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission*……… pp. 138–39.
40 *Ibid.*, pp. 513–14.
41 In a letter to a friend dated November 3, 1806, Buchanan wrote: "At Trevandrum I stayed five days with the Maharajah. I asked him for a piece of ground to erect a Christian Church at Mylady. He not only promised that my request will be granted but also said that in a few weeks he goes to Soochindram, when he will select the spot to be given. If I hear from him on the subject I shall at once inform Mr. Ringeltaube." This friend at Anjengo forwarded the letter to Ringeltaube, who greatly rejoiced that his prayers were heard and that his hopes would soon be

In August 1807, the Dewan requested Ringeltaube to send one of his Christians to make the necessary enquiries and obtain permission for the erection of a church at Mylady. Ringeltaube was very happy for this and praised Macaulay for his interposition. "The Dewan of Travancore sent me word that if I despatched one of our Christians to him he would give me leave to build a church at Mylady….. For this important service, our society is indebted alone to Col. Macaulay, without whose determined and fearless interposition none of their missionaries would have been able to set his foot in Travancore."[42] Accordingly, Ringeltaube sent Vēdamāṇikkam with letters of introduction to meet the Dewan and to receive permission for the erection of the church at Mylady. Vēlu Tampi, after hearing all particulars regarding the Christians of South Travancore, showed reluctance to grant the permission. As an excuse he said: "If we grant the permission now, the people will all rise against you. In December next His Highness travels to the South for the Suchindram festival, when we shall give you the sanction."[43] However the sanction was not given.

Col. Macaulay felt that he was insulted by Vēlu Tampi by withholding permission for the erection of the proposed church at Mylady. He had never expected such a behaviour from a close friend and official of his, whom he had assisted in many ways. He was biding his time. The rupture between the two that led to the rebellion of 1809 started with this and reached its climax when Vēlu Tampi demanded the arrears of taxes from a Christian named Māttū Tarakan.[44] In the course of the rebellion Vēlu Tampi issued a Proclamation on January 16, 1809: "The English will ………get low caste people to inflict heavy punishments for slight faults, put up Crosses and Christian flags in Pagodas, compel intermarriages with Brahmin women, without reference to caste or

realised. Śucīndram is famous for its temple adorned with the sculpture of 10 avatars.
42 Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission*……, pp. 154–55.
43 Quoted by C. M. Agur *op. cit.*, p. 512.
44 R.N. Yesudas, The Travancore Rebellion of 1809. Its Anti-Christian Origin, *Journal of Kerala Studies*, (Trivandrum 1973) Vol. I, pp. 91–103.

creed and practice all the unjust and unlawful things that characterise Kaliyuga......"[45] In the war that followed, the Dewan perpetrated a series of atrocities against the Christians. According to C. M. Agur, nine priests and over 3000 Christians, men, women and children were maimed, tortured, butchered, and thrown into the backwaters.[46] Thus, to get permission for erecting a church at Mylady, Col. Macaulay was even compelled to wage a war against the Travancore Government.[47]

Vēdamāṇikkam, who concealed himself in forests, reported the success of the British to Ringeltaube, who had escaped to Pāḷamkōṭṭa when the rebellion started.[48] He met Col. Macaulay once again and applied for permission to build the first Protestant church in Kerala at Mylady, which was long denied to him. The Rajah immediately granted him permission and in 1809 the foundation of the church was laid in Vēdamāṇikkam's ground by Ringeltaube.[49] This marked a turning point in the history of Kerala, for, from that year, Protestant Christianity began to spread rapidly and a glorious social revolution of great importance ensued.[50]

When protestant Christianity in South Travancore was established on a firm foundation, its great well-wisher and sympathiser Col. Macaulay retired on the 4th March 1810 and in his place Col. John Munro was appointed British Resident. His untiring efforts to promote missionary enterprise in Travancore earned for him the name "Father of Christian Missions of Travancore".[51] Lekshmi Rani confided the administration of the state to Col. Munro, the Resident, and from that date Travancore commenced a fresh career of peace, progress and prosperity, and gave him the title of a great philanthropist.[52]

45 For a full text of the proclamation, see Shungoony Menon, op. cit., pp. 339–43.
46 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 536.
47 R. N. Yesudas, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–103.
48 James Hough *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 280.
49 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 551–52.
50 R. N. Yesudas, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–103.
51 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 561.
52 *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, 1908) Vol. XX, New Edition, p. 8.

The people who belonged to the backward classes at this time groaned under the pressure of a severe poll tax.[53] When Vēdamāṇikkam was actively engaged in missionary labours, he came to know about the wants and sufferings of the Christians converted from the unprivileged classes. He carefully observed the treatment meted out to these Christians by Hindu masters and cruel opponents. The Nāḍārs had to pay poll-tax not only for the living members, but also for the dead. On account of the cruelty of its collection and the excessive nature of the amount, many families migrated to Tinnevelly. Then the government went to the extremity of compelling the representatives of the families thus fled[54] to pay the tax for their relatives.

Vēdamāṇikkam presented to Ringeltaube the real picture of the sufferings of the people as a result of the imposition of this tax and requested him earnestly to try for its abolition with the help of the new Resident. He requested him to liberate the Christians from this iniquitous and severe tax and to give relief, for they had every reason to be treated just like their fellow subjects in the matter of taxes. Ringeltaube immediately represented the grievances of the poor classes of the people to the government. Col. Munro took keen interest in the matter and a proclamation was issued on 29th June 1814 exempting the Christians from paying the poll-tax.[55] Simultaneously, several other taxes also were abolished.[56] As a result of the abolition of the poll-tax and other severe taxes there was a fresh incentive for the unprivileged classes to embrace the Christian religion. Gradually this benefit was conferred on all people belonging to backward communities.

53 *Directorate of States Archives*, East Fort, Trivandrum, Nīṭṭu Vol. 13, p. 64.
54 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 573.
55 *Directorate of State Archives*, See Document No. II (Malayalam.)
56 Minutes of Evidence....Vol. VI, p. 278. The proclamation issued by the Rani abolishing the taxes stated: "It being proper as well as my intention that all the people should be treated according to their respective religion, that every one should be happy and prosperous without any grievance, and that the country should flourish under my protection,

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Many belonging to the depressed classes became conver Christianity on the ground that under a European missionary need not serve the government and were at liberty to refuse age-old obligations of ūḻiyam. The converted Christians be to revolt against the government by disobeying the rules and going for ūḻiyam services.[57] Ringeltaube received several co plaints about these services and this caused him great trou He represented the matter to the government and accordingly Christians were exempted from Sunday ūḻiyam services, wh they had been rendering to the government. After this even refused to render ūḻiyam work on other days.[58] The ord issued by Ummiṇi Tampi and Col. Macaulay directed the offic that no one should molest or take any of the Protestant Christi subjects for any duties relating to pagodas and temples.[59] the Christians petitioned again in 1815 to the Rani that governm officers were compelling them to do duties to *Murajap* and *ūṭṭuvaka* and to deliver *kōlmudel* and that by doing th kinds of services they dishonoured their religion. On the basis this complaint from Christians the Rani permitted "eve nation to walk according to their religion, and as the doing duty to Moorajapam and Oottu—Adianderam being very simil I have to declare that Christians should not be constrained to duties for the above said purposes nor to any except those th

with the promotion of justice and charity, and where having been found that several taxes called Tallara Vullerah, Kettylacom, Velapadevoo etc., are levied up the poor classes, Ealavers, Shanars, Washermen, Cavad Mookaver, Pariar and Polayer from 926 and 930, the people in consequence being reduced to poverty, there being such taxes upon the poor people of low classes in oth countries, and it not having existed in this country previo to the year 926, and it being unjust to collect these tax from the people, if there be any regard for the good the people and for justice. Notice is hereby given that taxes of the above description upon Ealavers, Shana Washermen, Cavady, Mookavers, Pariars, Polayers hereby discontinued from this day, with such arrears as due upto the present date......" C. M. Agur, *op. c* Appendix, pp. LIV—LV.

57 *Directorate of State Archives*, Document No. III (Malayala

58 *Ibid.*

59 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, Appendix p. xlix.

relate to Sirkar works."[60] The Christians were fully exempted from all duties connected with heathen temples, public victualling houses, besides requisition of whatever nature on account of heathens, contributions of all descriptions, furnishing provisions and Sirkar Ooliam duties."[61] In a letter addressed to the Marthoma Metrān dated 22nd Dhanu 991 M. E., Col. Munro requested the Metrān to inform him in the event of government officers acting against this order.[62] Although the government officers continued to oppress the people, the proclamation abolishing the ūḻiyam and services connected with temples resulted in enlightening the people to a certain extent of their rights.

To Ringeltaube goes the abiding honour of having taken the first step for the introduction and diffusion of western learning and education in Kerala. He established many schools in South Travancore, where free education was given in reading, writing and Arithmetic to all poor children irrespective of caste and creed. He believed that he could ameliorate the sufferings of the poor people through educating and enlightening them. In a letter addressed to the L. M. S. he stated: "Permit me to lay the following plan before you.

1. "A church to be built in Travancore with dwelling house belonging to it: 100£
2. "A Seminary of 12 youths to be erected and maintained. The annual expenses of a boy, 18 star pagodas; total 216 star pagodas, per annum, equal to 82£
3. "These youths when fit to be employed as itinerants and every one so employed to receive two star pagodas per month."[63]

He did his best to improve the educational system. Each church erected by him acted as a school. He employed native school masters for the instruction of the youth. He had likewise several boys in training, who assisted him in reading, writing and

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.*, Appendix p. lii.

62 *Ibid.*

63 Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission*......... pp. 138-39.

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singing. One of them always accompanied him on his preachi[ng] tours.[64] Some times he sent them into the villages, among [the] scattered proselytes, to teach them the catechism. [The] report of 1812 shows that about 60 children were in the scho[ols] which he personally superintended.[65]

In his letter sent to Munro on 13th March 1813, Ringeltau[be] plainly stated: "No arrangements for educating the clergy. S[o] schools for the laity as per query. The instructions that are give[n] consist in lessons of reading, writing, Arithmetic, as also t[o] Christian children, the catechism and reading in the Ne[w] Testament or other religious books. The natives are not muc[h] disposed to send their children to school. The reason is, it [is] more profitable to have them instructed in the various exercises b[y] which they must gain their livelihood here after. Girls neve[r] come to school in Travancore which is a great loss. Books a[re] supplied by presents from the Reverend Missionaries at Tranque[] bar but not in sufficient number. For school masters, I choo[se] such out of the congregation that can read and pray fluently whic[h] is an incitement to others to come on well.

"If any additional funds were to be granted as has bee[n] intimated, I think, star pags. 1200 per annum, would be a[n] adequate sum for the whole Missions, For establishing an i[n] adequate system of education 600 or 300 will do.

"An adequate system requires a printing office, with soli[d] buildings, workmen for printing and binding materials etc[.] without such an institution a Mission is a helpless and hopeless abortive production. It is also necessary that new converts an[d] children should be boarded for sometime, which again requir[es] buildings and batta, also several married missionaries. I hav[e] hitherto struggled with the bitterest want."[66]

The statistics of the Protestant Mission in Travancore f[or] 1815 show that there were 188 school boys and 12 servants. O[f]

64 James Hough, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 283.
65 *Ibid.* p. 284.
66 Quoted by C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 595-96.

of these twelve servants, seven were school masters.[67] The educational institutions started by Ringeltaube began to shed light on the life of the people and instructed them of rights, liberty and equality.

After Ringeltaube, the responsibility of educating the natives of South Travancore fell on the shoulders of the next missionary Rev. Charles Mead. When he arrived in Travancore, the educational programme launched by Ringeltaube was in decline under the guidance of the native preacher, Vēdamāṇikkam. It was revived with great energy and enthusiasm under the leadership of Charles Mead. In one of his letters addressed to the Directors of the L. M. S., he stated: "The South Travancore Mission is assuming a pleasing aspect. Many are applying continually for instruction and baptism. The former Christians feel their drooping courage revived, while others undecided before have come to the determination of declaring on the side of truth. In several villages persons have applied for schools to be established and a Christian Church to be built in their neighbourhood."[68]

For educating the Christian and Hindu youth Charles Mead opened a Seminary or Boarding School for boys in October 1819.[69] Thirty scholars were admitted into this Boarding school. The expenditure was defrayed out of the produce of the Mission lands. The most important object of this institution was "the communication of religious and useful knowledge.... The next object of the institution is literature and languages, to be extended as far as our peculiar circumstances will admit... The languages to be taught are English, Tamil, Malayalam and Sanskrit ...."[70] Charles Mead even appointed Munshies and Hindu scholars to teach the students. As a result of that secularist and casteless approach the standard of studies ran high and was the highest obtainable in those days in Kerala. To this Seminary goes the proud distinction of being the first English school opened in Travancore. In 1819, there were fifteen Mission stations and

67 *Ibid.*, p. 623.
68 Rev. Charles Mead to the L. M. S dated Quilon April 24, 1818, *Missionary Chronicle* Nov. 1818.
69 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 721.
70 *Missionary Chronicle*, January 1822.

in each station there was a school. From these fifteen schools were selected forty boys and girls of superior capacity to the Central School at Nagercoil (Seminary).[71]

He also set up a school in 1820 in Nagercoil to meet the prejudices of the Hindus. The children were all Hindus. In 1822 they had forty students, and in 1823 the number increased to 50, of whom several were Brahmins. Their progress in learning was creditable.[72] He also started the School of Industry for giving the advantages of a Christian education. This institution was established in 1820, "to give the means of subsistence and the advantages of a Christian education, at the same time to some of the children of our congregations who are likely to be brought up in ignorance, idleness and vice. Some of the children are orphans, some we have redeemed from slavery, and others are the children of industrious parents who wish them to become useful members of society, and to have the means of supporting themselves in future life. The children are to learn in the school part of the day and work the other part."[73] This industrial establishment made a lot of progress within two years and gave prosperity to many families. He also formed the Architectural Society and started Mission Industrial establishments in Neyyūr and other places. The Rani helped him with property and finance for erecting new buildings for the schools.[74]

The London missionaries were also pioneers in the field of women's education in Kerala. The earliest girls' schools were opened between 1819 and 1823. Mrs. Mead, Mrs. Mault, Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Thompson were the most important names to be remembered in this field. The first school was established in Nagercoil in 1819 through the hard work of Mrs. Mead.[75] At first she experienced great difficulty, for the parents were unwilling to send their girls to schools. The people suspected the missionaries of improper motives in desiring to educate

71 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 723–26.
72 *Ibid.*, p. 729.
73 *Ibid.*
74 *Directorate of State Archives*, Nīṭṭu Vol. 12, p. 13.
75 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 730–31, Messrs. Mead and Mault to the L. M. S., dated Nagercoil September 22, 1822.

them.[76] However, Mrs. Mead succeeded in collecting 14 girl students, to whom education was imparted at first. The primary object of the school was to give plain instruction united with a Christian, religious, and moral education. Mrs. Mead also taught them sewing, spinning and knitting, while Mrs. Mault handled embroidery work and in 1821 introduced the pillow–lace. In a letter addressed to the L. M. S., the missionaries thus describe the girls' school—"Our wives are occupied in this interesting department of Missionary exertion. Industry and learning go hand in hand. Besides the knowledge of Christian Religion, the girls are taught knitting, lace–making, and sewing, we have gone to the extent of our means in admitting fourteen into this school. These are boarded and clothed, the only terms upon which they can be obtained. We can educate and maintain the female children for 3£ sterling per annum each to any extent that the liberality of the Society shall enable us."[77] The girls made great improvement in the various branches of learning. There was a marked change in their habits and appearance. The Hindu natives began to notice their superiority and looked with jealousy on them, who enjoyed no such advantages.[78]

The girls' schools founded in all missionary stations trained them in the habits of order, cleanliness and industry. Besides Christian learning the missionaries taught them History, Geography, Arithmetic, and Elements of Natural Philosophy in the vernacular, with a few lessons in English for higher classes. According to Agur, in 1837, mainly among the Nāḍārs of South Travancore, there were 15 girls' schools containing 361 girls and in 1840, in the two mission districts of Nagercoil and Neyyūr, out of 7,540 children under education, 998 were girls. In 1857 in the four Boarding schools of Nagercoil, Neyyūr, Śāntapuram and Pāraśśāla, there were 239 boarders, besides day scholars, and two

76 A Field Officer of Cavalry, *Diary of a Tour through Southern India, Egypt and Palestine in the years 1821 and 1822* (London, 1823) pp. 57–59.
77 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 767. Messrs. Mead and Mault to the L. M. S. dated Nagercoil, September 22, 1822.
78 *Ibid.*, pp. 767–68.

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years later there were 1468 girls in these southern schools.[79] The students of these schools maintained a high standard in all fields.

The missionaries were proud of their intelligent students. The students of their schools studied the subjects in a very systematic way, and passed much of their time daily in questioning the teachers as to the meaning of all they read. Several Europeans who visited the seminary and other schools, described them as centres of education and culture. Col. Digby Macworth, who visited the Nagercoil Seminary in 1821 recorded in his Diary: "I asked the senior boys a great number of questions on scripture doctrines and history....I was quite astonished at their answers. Such a state of improvement is highly creditable to their instructors."[81] The missionaries were very much interested in teaching the students foreign languages like English and Greek, and the classics. Bishop Trevor Spencer was startled at the standard of the students. He happily recorded: "I undertook their examination myself and was not a little surprised to find that they were reading Homer in the original! They read to me a few verses of the Iliad, and also of the Greek Testament, and their knowledge of the Greek language is really very respectable, and does great credit to their instructor. They also read to me in English a chapter of the Bible which they translated readily, and I was told very accurately into Tamil. Every question that I proposed to them was most correctly answered. Deeply interested as I am in the progress of native education, I was delighted, with all that I saw and heard."[82] This highly creditable educational system created an intelligentsia with more knowledge about the European civilisation. Naturally they began to think more about the evils of the caste system and of their inferiority in the eyes of the caste Hindus. They began to attack such evils, existing systems, practices and traditions, and this seemed to be against the interests of the local government and the privileged classes.

During this period Charles Mead set up a printing press in

79 *Ibid.*, pp. 679-80.
80 Rt. Rev. George Trevor Spencer, *Journal of a Visitation of the Provinces of Travancore and Tinnevelly, in the Diocese of Madras, 1840-41.* (London, 1842), pp. 106-7.
81 A Field Officer of Cavalry, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59.
82 Rt. Rev. George Trevor Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Nagercoil, which according to him was a "valuable but necessary appendage to a Missionary establishment."[83] This press was the first printing press in Travancore. The first book printed in this press was called *Ātmabōdhanam* or The Soul's Instructor. Following this book, thousands of elementary and Tamil books were printed by Mead, to meet the requirements of school children. Tracts exposing the absurdities of idolatry and evils of society were also printed in large numbers and distributed among the people.[84]

The Christians had not received justice at the hands of Judges, and Ringeltaube was very anxious about the redress of their grievances. In the Courts of Justice in South Travancore, as a rule, either Hindu Judges or Christian Judges of alien faith presided, in whom the Protestants had no real faith or confidence. Ringeltaube presented this matter to Col. Munro for his kind consideration. Accordingly he appointed Mr. Everett as Protestant Judge.[85] It was with a view to extending justice to the Protestant Christians of South Travancore and for the redress of grievances of those, whose welfare was not considered previously, that this Judge was appointed.[86] Before leaving Travancore Ringeltaube even advised Mr. Everett to look after the welfare of the converted Christians and help Vēdamāṇikkam in the administration of the few churches already founded. Judge Everett decided certain cases in favour of the Christians.[87]

When Judge Everett was found unsuitable in settling the cases of Protestants, he was removed and in his place was appointed Rev. Charles Mead.[88] He was the first Christian missionary appointed Judge in a native state. Col. Munro advocated the appointment of Rev. Mead and other Christian missionaries to Courts of Justice in the following words: "The inhabitants have a saying amongst them that even the chair of a Gentleman planted

83 A Field Officer of Cavalry, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
84 C. M. Agur. *op. cit.*, pp. 746-47.
85 *Directorate of State Archives*, Nīṭṭu Vol. 80, pp. 166, 236.
86 *Ibid.*, Nīṭṭu to appoint a Christian Judge, See document No. I (Malayalam)
87 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.* p. 631.
88 *Directorate of State Archives*, Nīṭṭu Vol. 78, p. 278.

in one of the Courts would be useful, and the presence of a gentleman of the Missionaries would communicate a purity, energy and efficiency to the proceedings of the Courts that would be attended with the most signal benefits. That measure would be most acceptable to the people; they see in the Courts an institution established for the express purpose of guarding their rights, and a plan so obviously calculated to improve their efficiency would be received with gratitude. The scrupulous integrity and conscientious justice of the Christian Judge would exalt the reverence of the people for the British character and contribute to found its influence still more on the durable basis of their interests and affections."[89]

The appointment of Christian missionaries as Judges in the Courts of Travancore greatly helped the external success of the missionary cause. The appointment gave them some political importance in the country. Certain civil rights which were not hitherto conceded to the Christians were secured. Having attained influence and power as Judge, Rev. Mead protected the interests of the Christian community, who suffered in many ways, and stood as their champion. Oppression and tyranny were rigorously put down. He tried to secure for the Christians the privileges enjoyed by their Hindu neighbours. He began the practice of appointing Christians of unprivileged classes in offices. As a preliminary step he appointed Mr. Pākyanādhan, one of his influential Christians, as the Chief Magisterial Officer of the Nagercoil Court. He accorded him the paraphernalia of a Tahsildar, which raised him in the eyes of others. Rev. Mead's appointment as Civil Judge was in all respects a blessing to the poor and down-trodden people of South Travancore and it aroused the jealousy of the caste Hindus.[90]

The tide of popular favour now flowed upon the missionaries. The kindness of the missionaries and their readiness to help them in distress and oppression attracted multitudes, who were accustomed to contempt and violence from the caste Hindus.[91]

89 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 686.
90 *Ibid.*, pp. 688–89. Pākyanādhan was the son-in-law of Vēdamāṇikkam, and the first Superintendent of the Mission Fields.
91 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 267–68.

The reforms introduced by Col. Munro in the judicial system of Travancore contributed much to the abolition of the evils prevailed. Although a section of the people attacked it on grounds of caste and other prejudices, the majority received it with great satisfaction and relief. Munro stated, "The people received the courts with marked demonstrations of satisfaction and joy... The Courts had given security of person and property, and confidence to the mass of the people...Great crimes, before frequent, had almost ceased; and several Nairs of rank, sentenced to death for atrocities and cruel murders, had been executed."[92]

Col. Munro considered the welfare of the labourers, as a necessary perquisite for the development of a nation, and amelioration of their sufferings, the duty of the government. Before his arrival persons employed as coolies were paid at a very low rate. When Munro came to know about this, he decided to enhance the wages of coolies employed to carry loads, who were chiefly recruited from the unprivileged classes like Īḻava, Nāḍār and Mukkuva. Munro proclaimed that, "just hire should be paid to the people taking the baggages from one to another place, according to their labour, and the present rate of hire being too low, Notice is hereby given that all persons carrying the loads of Sirkar baggages, shall be paid at the rate of two chuckrams per cadam, and that they shall receive it accordingly."[93] This gave incentive to the labourers to put forward more and more demands and revolt against oppressive regulations.

Before the introduction of Protestant Christianity in Travancore, the women, excluding women of the Brahmins, were prohibited from covering their bosoms. The Nāḍārs and other unprivileged classes who were advanced in education considered this an insult. So also their brothers and sisters in Tinnevelly wore long clothes.[94] The introduction of Christianity and their conversion raised their social standard and the women began to cover their bosoms. The missionaries advocated their cause and proclamations were issued to that effect. In the days of Munro

92 *Minutes of Evidence*......, VI, Political, p. 279.
93 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, Appendix p. lvi.
94 *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* (January 1834), pp. 57–59.

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the first order was issued permitting the women of unprivileged classes to cover their bosoms. Col. Munro in the capacity of Resident–Dewan issued an order thus: "I have heard that the women of Ealaver and such like castes who have embraced Christianity have been prevented from covering their bosoms; but as I have granted my permission to the women converted to Christianity to cover their bosoms as obtains among Christians in other countries, you will take steps that there be no obstacles put to the women converted to Christianity wearing clothes over their breasts."[95]

In spite of this clear order of Munro, the officers oppressed the Christians for wearing clothes over their bosoms and asked them to discontinue it. But the people ignored the opposition and continued to wear clothes above the waist. Munro was angry at the oppressions and issued another order warning with punishment for such behaviour on the part of the officers and of failure in enforcing the order.[96] The *Piḍākakars* pointed out that, in consequence of the dress assumed by unprivileged class women, the difference between the one and the other caste could not be known, and everything was allowed to be polluted. On the basis of this complaint of the *Piḍākakars*, Munro as Dewan issued another order on 7th Edavam 989 (1813) preventing the Christians from wearing the loose scarves over their bosom like the

95 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, Appendix p. 1.

96 *Ibid.* "That although orders have been issued permitting the women of Ealaver and such like castes who have embraced Christianity to wear cloth over their bosoms, that four persons who have been exempted from doing the Sirkar duty and attached to that of the church; and that the persons converted to Christianity should not be called upon for the duties connected with Coicul; I have been told that contrary to these orders they are now oppressed, I therefore enclose a copy of the same; and should the like occur in future you shall be sent for to this place and punished." Order issued by Col. Munro (as Dewan) to Trioomagumpidicha Pillai of Neyyattinkara dated Vrichugam 10, 989.

Nair women, but permitted them to wear jackets called *kuppāyams* like the women of Syrian Christians and Mappiḷās.[97]

The backward classes who embraced Christianity again complained to the authorities to permit them to wear clothes as they liked. Accordingly, a proclamation was issued permitting the women of Īḻava, Nāḍār, and such other castes, who embraced Christianity, "to wear clothes over their bosom as directed in the Christian Vedam."[98] Permission was also granted to Christian children belonging to backward classes, to inherit the property of their

97 Circular Order of Col. Munro, Dewan, dated Bālarāmapuram, 7th Eḍavam 989 (1813). "It having been complained by the Pidagacars that the women of Ealavers, Shanars, and others of this description in this country wear cloths over their bosoms, a practice which never has been in use formerly and that in consequence of the said dress having been assumed, the difference between one and the other caste cannot be known, and everything is allowed to be polluted, you are hereby therefore directed to take measures, that no women of Ealavers, Shanars, and others of such description are even allowed to wear cloths on their bosoms as the Nayar women, and that they (the former) are not prevented at the same time from wearing jackets called coopayam like the women of Christians, Shonagas, and Moplas."

98 Proclamation issued by Dewan Subbayyan Śankara Nārāyaṇan, dated 7th Meenam, 990. "Whereas Ealavers, Shanars, and such other castes in this country who have embraced Christianity, having solicited that they may be permitted to inherit and dispose of their property both moveable and immoveable according to the usage of that religion and that their women may be permitted to wear cloth over their bosoms as directed in the Christian Vedam the same was reported to Her Highness the sovereign who passed a Neet that it should be allowed agreeably to that custom and that measures may therefore be adopted to carry the same into effect.

"Notice is hereby accordingly given that permission has been granted to Ealavers, Shanars, and such other castes who have embraced Christianity, that their children should inherit their property both moveable and immoveable; and that their females should wear cloth over their bosoms agreeably to the Vedams of their religion.

"According to what is written above these people should conduct themselves."

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parents.[99] These proclamations and orders were issued mainly on the basis of the influence exerted by Ringeltaube on Munro.

After the arrival of Mrs. Mault, she introduced lace-making in her Boarding School at Nagercoil as a part of the missionary activity. This industry was extended to all missionary centres and school mistresses were appointed to teach lace-making to the girls of the village congregations. Admirable specimens of fine pillow lace in cotton, and gold and silver thread, manufactured at the Mission School, were shown at Madras, and in the great London and Paris Exhibitions, in all of which they gained prize medals.[100] Several Christians earned money by doing this work, and after paying it to their owners freed themselves from slavery. The restrictions enforced by the upper classes on the lower in the wearing of dress and ornaments to maintain the laws of caste made the missionary lady aggreaved. When Mrs. Mault found the women exposing their breasts, she considered it indecent and taught the Christians to wear a kind of plain loose jacket with short sleeves.[101] In addition to this jacket not worn by Śūdra women, they began to wear an upper-cloth (an additional cloth laid over the shoulder) as worn by the Śūdra women.

The Council of the Nāñcinad Śūdras or the National Council of the *Piḍākakars*, was the actual ruling body of Nāñcināḍ, who controlled the people. There were several instances of the Rajah of Travancore entrusting the authority of enforcing peace and order to the *Piḍākakars*.[102] Very often they marched in grand processions with drums sounding in front, led by the 12 *Piḍākakar* representatives, each holding a staff in his hand, and followed by hundreds of *Piḷḷamars* or hereditary clerks and accountants holding their caste banners, medals and different emblematic staffs. They spread such terror into the minds of the unprivileged classes that they bowed and worshipped those senators.[103]

99 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, Appendix p. I
100 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 108
101 *Ibid.*, p. 278.
102 *Directorate of State Archives*, Nīṭṭu Vol. 19, p. 267.
103 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 569.

This southern Council was not to the interests of the unprivileged classes. When Munro was the British Resident, this Council called on him without his permission, when he was staying at Udayagiri Fort, near Nagercoil. He ordered his escort to fall upon them and seize all their paraphernalia and break their drums and staffs. The *Piḍākakars* were made prisoners and fettered. He also put a stop to the village assemblies and caste assemblies and curtailed their powers, privileges and immunities.[104]

Col. Munro believed that the oppression of the people was mostly due to the confederacy of public servants who were organised more on the principles of military subordination than of civil liberty. He introduced many reforms curtailing the powers of the officers.[105] These measures and the presence of the subsidiary force in Travancore created a sense of security in the minds of the unprivileged classes, and this gave them the power and the incentive to revolt against the government and the privileged classes for their just rights and privileges.

These humanitarian reforms of Col. Munro led to the great relief of the people and to the benefit of the state.[106] The Christian missionary activities and the spread of Christian religion weakened the influence of the power of superstition and idolatry over the mind of people.[107] The evil customs and practices were but rarely defended by the intelligent men who felt rather sore on the subject of their religion.[108]

Hospitals to treat the poor and down trodden people, started by the missionaries in this period, became valuable agencies for the establishment of social equality and spread of the Gospel. It was Dr. Ramsay who opened the Medical Mission at Nagercoil. People irrespective of caste distinctions approached him for

104 *Ibid.*, p. 570.
105 Minutes of evidence……, Appendix No. 20, p. 278.
106 *Ibid.*, p. 279.
107 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 397.
108 *Ibid.* "The Christian preachers have taken away from the hearts of the people the fear of their native gods. People now rob the gods of their own gold and silver jewellery; and the gods are afraid, that even themselves will be stolen."

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treatment. "I am happy to say", he wrote, "that people of every caste, even the Brahmanas, flock to me for advice. I have now free access amongst them and have great reason to believe that much good, will be done."[109]

From the early period of the establishment of the Protestant Church, the missionaries were very much interested to start a mission station at Trivandrum, the capital. But the influence of the Brahmins on the Rajah prevented it.[110] However, John Cox in 1838 succeeded in starting a mission station at Trivandrum when General Fraser was Resident. The attention of the Trivandrum Mission was directed towards the Pulayas, the lowest of social scale, who were slaves. Schools were started to educate them and enlighten them. Steps were taken to liberate them from slavery.[111] The work of the Mission progressed rapidly.[112] This made the privileged classes of Trivandrum, who were interested in maintaining slavery, angry and jealous.

109 Quoted by Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 285-86.
110 George Trevor Spencer, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97. The Bisho[p] says: "The sovereign of this beautiful country is about 2[…] years of age, of a very pleasing countenance and his man-ners strikingly simple and gentleman-like. He speak[s] English with perfect fluency, is an accomplished Persia[n] and Arabic Scholar, and is in other respects unusuall[y] well-informed; having had the advantage of much bette[r] education than commonly falls to the lot of Orienta[l] Princes. Could he escape from the swaddling bands o[f] the Brahmins: it is supposed that he would show himself a really enlightened ruler. This however seems almost im-possible, as these crafty priests have thrown their meshe[s] so effectually around him that he can scarcely sti[r] hand or foot without their permission.......The Brahm[ins] here are still all powerful, and are held by the other castes a[s] something far better than men, and very little inferior t[o] gods.

"If there were no such people, Brahmins, Trevandru[m] would be a little centre of civilisation, which woul[d] eventually produce a most beneficial effect througho[ut] Southern India."

111 *English Records*, Kerala Government Secretariat, Trivan-drum, Cover File No. 285.
112 Trevor Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

The missionaries taught these neglected and down-trodden that like all other human beings they also were the children of Almighty God. They proclaimed to them that the despised and down-trodden were the objects of God's special love and care, and that the soul of the lowest caste member was in His sight as precious as those of the people belonging to the highest caste, and it was their birth-right to enlighten themselves, and to shake off the shackles which caste had imposed on them, and become God's free men. The constant petitions of the missionaries for the emancipation of slaves, freedom of access to public roads, markets and public offices, and other rights, inspired the natives to join them and fight against the government for their birth-rights.

The educated Christians began to question the gross abuses prevailing in society and attributed them to the dominance of the caste Hindus. They not only questioned, but also began to revolt against oppressive customs, regulations and practices. They began to resist the religious persecution and advocated equality and fraternity. This questioning and sudden social changes that came as the result of the work of the missionaries and spread of Christianity, led to an intellectual stir. There was a good deal of inquiry and longing for certainty and seeking truth.[113] Several writers and poets took up the cause and propagated the new movement. The most important of them were Dēvavaram Biḍulph, John Pālmer, Rev. A.Vēḍakkan, and Rev. C. Masillāmaṇi.

The early converts like Vēdamāṇikkam, Śivagurunādhan and Pakyanādhan were poets and scholars. They were well-versed in Tamil classics and astrology. But the most prominent among Christian Tamil poets was Dēvavaram Biḍulph who was born at Mylady in 1802.[114] He was converted and baptized by Ringel-taube, and belonged to the first forty Travancoreans, baptized by him in 1806. Charles Mead admitted him into his Seminary, sent him to Tanjore and Madras for higher education and to complete his Tamil and English studies. His knowledge of Sanskrit made his speeches particularly attractive to the educated class. He attained such elegance and perfection in writing poems

113 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 403.
114 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 1089.

that the South Indian Tamil poets conferred on him the tit ‘Dommuni’.[115] Even the other Christian poets like John Palm and Vēdakkan admired him and appreciated his works.[116] Hi most important poetical works are *Vēdavidhikural*, or th Christian Kural, *Tiruttantamālai*, or Christian Morals *Sindhukav mālai* or the Garland of Christian Lyrics *Śemmoli mālikai* or the Garland of Good Words, and *Saṅṅgīta Varṇam* o the Psalm of David, versified in Tamil metres. He also wrote certain prose works like the *Vēda Akārāti* (Bible Dictionary) and *Pēyākānti* (Dictionary of Nouns enlarged.)

John Palmer, the lyric poet was born at Mylady on the 15th November 1812. It has been said that a vision appeared to him as a result of his hatred towards idols and asked him, “Are you not the man who abused our idols?” The poet at this juncture woke up and wrote a poem on spiritual welfare.[117] Thus began his career of a poet. He confined himself to scriptural thoughts and used appropriate epithets suited to the language and habit of thought of Tamil Christians. Mr. Balm has remarked that what Dr. Watts, who aimed to sing for the children by the very simplicity and beauty of his style, was in England, so Mr. Palmer was in the South Indian Church.[118] He bears a contrast to Dēvavaram Biḍulph, whose style is classic and suited for a better class of readers. His most important poetical works are *Ñānapātakirtanam, Meśśiah Vilāsam, Satyavēdacaritra Kīrtanam*, and *Perunantakummi*. His poems appealed to the people to turn to Christianity for happiness and mental satisfaction.

Vēḍakkan was one of the brilliant products of the Nagercoil Seminary. His first literary productions were, *Vedamoḻi Nūtirupāṭṭu* and *Nallurai Nalpāṭṭu*, which were written as substitutes for the Hindu treatises *Mūturai* and *Attisūdi*. His fame chiefly rests with his *Atinantavana Piralayam* and *Atinantavana Mīḻcci* in which the pith and essence of Milton’s Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained have been respectively rendered into Tamil–verse narrative, “in

115 *Ibid.*, p. 1090.
116 Vethacan, *Life of Rev. Devadasan*, p. 80.
117 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 1101.
118 *Ibid.*, p. 1103.

the simplicity of language adapted to the tastes of the commonalty.”[119]

Rev. C. Masillamaṇi was a friend of the poor and needy, who devised various means and measures for their amelioration. He wrote 316 Tamil Tracts on various subjects, and many controversial works exposing the evils in Hinduism, Brahmanism, caste etc. The most important of his is the ‘Drunkard’s Story’, exposing the sufferings experienced by the family of a drunkard. This work touched the minds of people and instigated them to avoid intoxicating drinks.

The works of the first two poets, Dēvavaram Biḍulph and John Palmer, contributed a lot to the intellectual revival of the early decades of the nineteenth century. It lasted longer and the other poets got inspiration from them. These poets and European missionaries prepared the ground for the intellectual revival. Seeds were also sown by them for a social revolution. Those seeds germinated and were watered by the people. A new spirit was aroused. This spirit along with the intellectual renaissance raised the unprivileged classes above the privileged classes in the economic, political and cultural fields, although rights and privileges were in the hands of the latter.

Although the majority of the population were raised to a high position as a result of the influence of Christianity, the caste Hindus remained in the former condition, and looked upon them from the ivory towers. They praised their old glorious position in Travancore and wished the same again to come. They had forgotten that the social fabric that existed in the beginning of the nineteenth century had shattered. For the establishment of the old regime they began to persecute the Christians. They wanted to resist the reforms introduced by the missionaries through the British authority and check the progress of the unprivileged classes. In their plans to persecute the Christians, they have often counted upon the support of some of the government servants. They so acted because of the fact that the tone of the administration had fallen very low.[120] So also the government servants wanted to

119 *Ibid.*, p. 1109.
120 Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, pp. 486-87.

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enjoy their old position, to rule the people arrogantly without a
checks and for the rights to oppress them, beat them, and
necessary to kill them. The checks introduced by the missionari
by submitting cases before the government and the intellectu
revival, they felt, were against their authority. This led to insurre
tions and commotions. "It was extremely desirable", said Munro "t
communicate a pacific disposition to the government and the peopl
of Travancore, the strict gradation of authority established among th
Karigars and the entire command which they possessed over th
services of the people, contributed to perpetuate military feeling
in the country, and to facilitate the means of commotion and in
surrection. They were, in fact, at once military and civi
governors, exercising absolute power in their Districts."[12
The investiture of their office was given by the Rajah with
sword, and this weapon together with the ensigns of their office
were carefully displayed wherever they appeared. They enjoyed
unlimited powers and abused it in their capacity as revenue
officers. Their constant contact with the people, touching their
property and interests gave them an influence, which if strength
ened by the power of a magistrate or judge, would assuredly b
perverted by the natives, to purposes of corruption and injustice
There was rapine, fraud and coercion. The orders issued by the
government were not generally executed, if that was against th
officers. They considered all orders issued for the welfare of the
common people and for the amelioration of their sufferings a
against them. "An order disagreeable to the *Karigars* was seldom
enforced; it was sent from the *Wallee survaddy Karigars* with
private information to disobey it, and it was conveyed from
Survaddy Karigars to the *Prowerteecars* with a similar request."[122]
On the other hand, orders favourable to their feelings and wishe
were carried into effect with the promptitude of military obedi
ence. Situation was not much different in the fifties als
after three decades of general progress. A late Dewan of Travan
core, Naṇu Piḷḷai observed: "The moral tone of the adminis
tration gave place to corruption and peculation, that the polic
was turned into an engine of oppression and torture, that th
Tahsildars and their understrappers bought their appointments a

121 Minutes of evidence .... VI, Political, p, 278.
122 *Ibid.*

the headquarters".[123] When the officers lent their support to the well-to-do persecutors of the Christians, actuated by caste prejudices and with a view to enrich themselves by unlawful means, the missionaries found no alternative to declaring war against this state of affairs.

The South Travancore Mission was predominantly that of the Nāḍārs.[124] They embraced Christianity for receiving from the missionaries, advice in difficulties, sympathy in adversity and help in sickness, being at all times friendly inquired after kindly spoken to, being connected with a rising united body guided by European intelligence and governed by principles of Christian justice; and with the expectation of being protected in some measure from the oppressions of their wealthy neighbours. They were aware of the fact that the native Christians, within a few years, acquired a higher standing and enjoyed more peace and prosperity than they had as Hindus.[125] The missionaries offered them not only the Gospel but also salvation from the fetters of tradition, which had, for centuries, burdened them with social disabilities and economic dependence.[126] The attitude, manners and characteristics of the Nāḍārs in the early decades of progress were described by Rev. Abbs, who worked as a missionary amidst them: "The Shanars...although in an oppressed and degraded condition, had many proud references to a noble ancestry and were not only capable of mental improvement, but also exceedingly ambitious to hold positions of importance, and take a part in the government of the country...The Shanar is very exclusive in his feelings, looking with contempt on those below him, and with jealousy on those who are his social superiors".[127]

With the help of the missionaries the Nāḍārs were exempted

123 Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 385.
124 G. T. Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1901) p. 51.
125 George Pettitt, The Tinnevelly Mission, *Madras Quarterly Missionary Journal*, (October, 1851), New Series II, pp. 163-64.
126 Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
127 John Abbs, *Twenty Two Years, Missionary Experience in Travancore* (London, 1870), pp. 151-52.

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from paying many burdensome taxes, and from the corvee labour demanded by the government, as above stated. But one thing to be noted was that, they advanced economically and secured sufficient wealth to purchase their own lands.[128] The Mission helped the poor to purchase their land. They were also benefited much from the educational system introduced by the missionaries. Their release from the obligations of servility and their concomitant rise in economic status aroused antagonism and jealousy among the caste Hindus, whose economic position was not improved.[129] Education and Christianity had given the backward classes hope of an escape from their sufferings under the dominance of the Nair land lords. W. H. Drew wrote of the Nadars: "If the Shanars continue to grow in mind, intelligence and character, they must gain influence, and that influence must be felt, and felt for good... Already other castes are beginning to be jealous of the advantages the Shanars are gaining from their connexion with us".[130] Above all, they for the first time found a new unity through the organisation of the church. Supported by the European missionaries, the Nāḍārs sought to use that strength for the uplift of the whole community.[131]

The movement for social uplift was symbolised in the Nāḍārs' attempt to vest themselves with the attributes of higher status, and their efforts in the beginning of the early nineteenth century, soon gave rise to the 'breast-cloth controversy'. The women of the Nāḍārs, like the lowest castes, were forbidden to cover their breasts. The manner of dress prescribed for them consisted of a single cloth of coarse texture, to be worn by men and women alike, not lower than the knee and not higher than the waist.[132] "This style of

128 Rev. James Russel to the LMS dated Nagercoil, January 24, 1854. *Missionary Magazine and Chromicle*, (August 1856), XX, p. 166.
129 Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
130 W. H. Drew, Letter dated Nagercoil, April, 16, 1846 *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* (London, July 1846) X, p. 100.
131 Robert L. Hardgrave *op. cit.*, p. 59.
132 Petition of the Missionaries of the L. M. S. to His Highness the Rajah of Travancore. See document No XXIX.

dress was of course incompatible with the modesty and decorum of Christian women, many of whom had received a good education and were taught to appear decent in public."[133]

The loose jacket of the Nāḍār women, devised by the wives of the missionaries to their satisfaction to cover the breasts, did not meet their social aspirations. The Nāḍārs of Madras and Tinnevelly wore the breast clothes freely and the Nāḍārs of Travancore wanted the same privilege. Thus in addition to the jacket the Nāḍār women adopted an upper-cloth for decency,which was worn by the women of caste Hindus. In May 1822, the caste Hindus re-acted against this and stripped the clothes worn by the Nāḍār women and committed many atrocities. Nāḍārs, who had the unflinching support of the backward classes and missionaries, entered the battle field against the caste Hindus. A struggle thus became inevitable.

133 *Ibid.*

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4

PERSECUTION AND OPPOSITION

THE root cause of opposition to Christianity and persecution of Christians was the caste system. The missionaries opposed the caste system and tried their utmost to abolish it.[1] The supporters of caste opposed the missionaries and the Christian converts and regarded them as their greatest enemies. They were of two groups. One group believed that caste was the bedrock of Hinduism and that any attempt to tamper with the caste system, as known to them, was an attack on their religious system. The others, thought not inconvenienced by any religious scruples, hugged the caste system, because it ministered to their selfishness, greed and lust for power over the person and property of large numbers of their fellow men.[2] The remarkable progress of the Gospel, the increase of agencies, the advancement of Christians, and the formation of new congregations and mission stations, attracted their attention and provoked their opposition. Throughout the whole history of the Travancore Mission, as each ripple of the waves of progress of Christianity reached the caste

1 *English Records*, Government Secretariat, Trivandrum, Letter from F. Baylis to the British Resident dated Neyyūr, January 1, 1859. (See Document No. VII)

2 *Alleged Religious Persecution–An Explanation.* (Pamphlet, n. p., n. d.), p. 5.

Hindus their jealousy and hatred increased and attempts were made to put a stop to the spread of the religion by violence and outrage.[3]

The caste system practised in Kerala was the worst and also highly abnoxious. People were condemned to life-long slavery simply because they were born as members of socially backward classes. Certain women were prohibited from clothing decently because they were born in backward classes. Thousands of people were untouchables because they belonged to what were called low castes. It was firmly held and taught that every man and woman must die in the caste or religion in which he or she was born and that it was foolish for anyone even to dream that he could improve his social or spiritual condition by changing his faith, and it was wrong on the part of anyone to seek to convert to his own faith the adherents of any other faith.[4] This system was beneficial only to the caste Hindus, which made the unprivileged classes quite docile and subservient.

The factors that contributed to the persecution of Christians in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries were various. The caste Hindus were anxious that those belonging to the socially backward classes should permanently remain as their hereditary servants and whose services they should be able to command on their own terms. They were also anxious that social barriers that existed between them and backward communities should not be demolished. They felt that, when the backward classes were educated and enlightened, they could not be held in a condition of servitude. The caste Hindus believed that the backward classes with the help of the missionaries would rebel against the restrictions imposed upon them by caste system and assert their rights as free human beings, when education and Christian religion would spread among them. Śūdra ascendancy appeared to be on the decline and fewer opportunities and means of oppression remained open to them. The Christian converts, who were advanced in education

3 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity* (London, 1871), p. 275.
4 *English Records*, Letter from E. Lewis to the Resident, dated Śāntapuram January 21, 1859, (See document No. XX)

and enterprise, and improved in worldly circumstances, began to oppose the injustice and oppression to which they had been subjected from the privileged classes.[5] Such a change was quite unpalatable to the caste Hindus. They could not brook the advancement of the backward people, who were now rising through education and religion to a position of equality with them. They did their best to thwart the missionaries and their agents in their attempt to educate those down-trodden people and draw them towards the Christian fold. So also the conversion of certain persons belonging to the privileged classes exposed them to persecution and harassment. Those converted from them were ill treated and persecuted by the caste Hindus to prevent further conversions. In the case of low castes, besides the hostility of the upper classes and the government, they had to suffer persecution from their own caste. Among the caste Hindus, the Śūdras were foremost in action, the Brahmins and others remained in the background inciting the former to acts of vandalism.[6]

Christian missionaries and travellers have recorded several instances of persecution of Christians by the Rajahs, officers and people. The Rajahs themselves were cruel, superstitious and barbarous. When some unexpected obstacle prevented Mārtāṇḍa Varma in 1746 from further advance to a conquest he sought the advice of his Brahmin council [illegible]. They directed him to sacrifice fifteen infants belonging partly to the Nāḍārs, Mukkuvas and Īḻavas. Fifteen infants were seized in a stormy night and conveyed to the fort of Trivandrum. After many ceremonies conducted by the Brahmins they were buried alive with various superstitious inscriptions engraved on leaves of copper attached to them, in the four quarters of the royal city. This event struck such terror into the minds of the down-trodden people that many families, to save their children, fled from the neighbourhood.[7]

5 Shungoony Menon, *History of Travancore* (Madras, 1878), p. 505.
6 Samuel Mateer. *Land of Charity*, p. 276.
7 Thomas White House, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land* (London, 1873) p. 215

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The caste Hindus seldom tolerated the conversion of their caste members to Christianity. One instance was that of Nīlakanda Piḷḷai. He was an able officer belonging to a noble family, and a close friend of De Lannoy.[8] He expressed his desire to receive baptism and become a Christian. Accordingly he was sent to Vaḍakkankuḷam in Tinnevelly District and was baptized by Rev. Fr. R. Battari in 1745.[9] Although he was called by the Christians of Travancore Dēvasahāyam Piḷḷai, his real baptismal name was Lazarus. For this reason the Rajah ordered him to be fettered and sent to prison. He is said to have been confined in prison for 18 months during which time his friends tried every means to make him apostatise from his new faith.[10] At last the enemies mounted him on a buffalo and led him from village to village, beat him with banyan canes, whipped him, stuffed chilli powder into his mouth, nostrils and eyes, made him stand in the burning sun, and when he was panting for water they made him drink the dirty water in which coconut skins were soaked. But he stood firm to the last.[11] The priest who baptized him and other staunch Christians, visited him and comforted him. When the news reached the palace that Dēvasahāyam patiently endured all persecutions and preferred to suffer death rather than renounce his faith, the Rajah issued commands to take him secretly to Kadaḍimalai near Udayagiri Fort and there to be shot down. Bartalomeo recorded: "Neelampulla, an officer of a noble family was shot at Arampalli; because he refused to renounce the religion of Jesus Christ."[12] According, to C. M. Agur, "this vile deed has left stain on the pages of the history of Travancore.[13]

8 Bartalomeo, *Voyage to the East* (London, 1800), p. 207.
9 C. M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore* (Madras, 190 p. 281,
10 White House, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
11 *Ibid.*
12 Bartalomeo, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
13 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 284-85. Fr. S.J. Bouttari gives the following information. "For some time past he had been disposed to become a Christian and he had obtained some inscription by conversations with Lannoy. On his baptism he took the name of Devasagayam. Four years afterwards he was imprisoned because of his change of religion and

In 1780 Nāgam Piḷḷai, the Dewan of Travancore, commenced a severe persecution against the converts of the Nāḍār caste. They were induced to worship Vishnu, instead of worshipping Christ. They refused and about 20,000 of them left their homes and fled to the mountains.[14] But however, 300 of them were caught and forced to perform the Hindu rites. The majority of them through fear complied. Some stood firm and refused. Of the latter ten were hung up to the branches of trees and so beaten that two of them named Vēlēndran and Aruḷan died the same day. White House gives the following touching account of the incident: "A lad named Arulappan, aged ten, who was present at the martyrdom of his father, said to the judge, 'Sir, if the Catholic faith is my father's crime, on account of which you kill him, command me also to be killed, for my belief is the same as my father's.' Upon this the judge ordered him to retract and as he refused to do so to be severely beaten. At each stroke the heroic lad cried out, 'Jesu Nather Swami' - 'Jesu Lord God !' A Jesuit missionary named Falcao, who lived in the ancient town of Travancore, was the only priest left in those parts to console the sufferers - the native priests, like hirelings, having all run away."[15]

When Fr. Bartalomeo was in Trivandrum in 1787, he saw four Nairs in prison. On enquiry he came to know that they were imprisoned for embracing the Christian faith.[16] They were tortured with hunger and thirst, and at last scourged twice a day, when arguments and other inducements failed to shake them in their purpose. Kēśava Piḷḷai, who was Dewan, did everything in his power to make the four Nairs abjure Christianity. He even paid a visit himself and employed every possible art of persuasion. Bartolomeo recorded: "These heroic souls, however, were not to be shaken, and acknowledged openly in prison the word of God;– so that Sampradi Kesava Pulla was at length afraid, they might

after three years of imprisonment he was shot in 1752 by order of the Rajah at Aramboli, about the fifty-first mile on the road from Trivandrum to Tinnevelly." Cited by Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, p. 129.
14 White House, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
15 *Ibid.*
16 Bartalomeo, *op. cit.*, p. 208

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make proselytes....The four captive shudris, after everything had been tried to make them alter their opinion, were at last transported beyond the boundaries of Tovala"[17]

The Christians suffered much from their caste Hindu neighbours. They forced the Christians to attend the abominable orgies celebrated in honour of their gods, which was forbidden to them according to the Bible. At Ambalapuzha, there was a rich temple dedicated to Śiva, where a festival was annually celebrated, during which the statue of the god was carried round in the night. All the Christians of the locality should be present on this occasion, when the Hindus performed their dances; and some Christian women who refused to be present were dragged to the spot with violence.[18] Fr. Bartalomeo earnestly entreated the authorities that "means might be taken to prevent the overseers of the temple from thus abusing their power; but in reply, ancient usage was pleaded as a sufficient excuse for their conduct."[19]

The introduction of Protestant Christianity and the rapid spread of the religion in the Southern parts, was a turning point in the history of persecution. As a result of the work of Gericke and his assistants several people were converted to Christianity in South. The enraged Hindu neighbours and officers on this large scale conversion, inflicted cruelties on the Christians.[20] Gericke painfully wrote on the 24th December 1802: "In the midst of my bodily weakness, I receive most grievous letters almost everyday from one or other of the suffering Christians in the South, and I cannot help them with letters, nor by returning to them. The heathen have treated them with all the vigour due to those who have lost their caste from misconduct. They have forcibly smeared their foreheads with ashes, they have broken in armed in their houses of prayer on Sundays, have seized men, women, and children, beaten and imprisoned them,

17 *Ibid.*
18 White House, *op. cit.*, p. 216.
19 *Ibid.*
20 Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission, of the S.P.C.K., and S.P.G.F.P* pp. 67–69.

plundered their houses etc. We must wait in patience and humility to see how and through whom God will help them. I hope that he will not permit the enemy to disturb the work which is begun; this unexpected and severe persecution will purify our people and their firmness will cause others to reflect. I trust that God will give them courage rather to suffer everything than to assist themselves by unlawful means."[21]

The native public servants and Hindu inhabitants excited by a spirit of persecution and under pretence of levying the taxes, inflicted on the Christians great cruelties by putting them in the stocks and also in fetters. They were obliged to remain in one and the same place exposed to the inclemencies of the weather for days, and not allowed any shelter from the scorching heat of the sun or any chance to answer the calls of nature. When they were released in consequence of the government's orders, their foreheads were smeared with ashes as a token of their having renounced the Christian religion. Although the Christians paid their taxes in time and the native public servants exacted from them more than they were to demand, the Christians were represented as disobedient and irresponsible in paying their dues and under pretence of levying these taxes the caste Hindus practised all kinds of cruelty which ignorant human nature could devise.[22]

To prevent the oppression of Nāḍār Protestant Christian converts, David, the first Nāḍār catechist, adopted a line of action, which was not in accordance with the wishes of his superiors, Satyanādhan and Gericke. He put himself at the head of a body of people called 'Taḍi-kambu-kārar' (club-men) and went about from place to place redressing the grievances of the Christians by force. In a letter to Mr. Wheatley dated 30th September 1802, Gericke, speaking of the Mudalūr congregation pointed out, "the Catechist David and his crew are troublesome people, but the rest of the congregation is good," because of the organisation of these club-men to resist persecution against the wishes of Gericke and

21 Quoted by J. Ferd Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, Translation from Danish (Madras, 1906) p. 195.
22 Robert Caldwell, Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly ...., pp. 104-5.

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Satyanādhan.[23] He died of poison administered to him throu the instigation of the caste Hindus.[24]

Satyanādhan was depressed at the cruelties exercised upon t Christians, and the reports daily brought to him from all quarte One of the congregations wrote to Gericke that, "were it not f the fear of hell, and the hope of heaven...that they should throw themselves into the Sea."[25]

Rev. Kohlhoff who visited these areas complained to S.P.C. of the troubles to which the new converts were exposed and r quested them to take immediate measures to prevent the perse tion of Christians and to protect the persons and labours of t missionaries. Gericke also had reported home to the same effe When tidings of these persecutions reached England, the Board S.P.C.K presented a statement of the particulars to the Court Directors of the English East India Company and reques their interference to prevent persecution of Christian converts future and to protect the persons and labours of the Society missionaries in the discharge of those important duties with wh they were entrusted.[26] The Directors directed the attention of Collector of Tinnevelly to the labours of the missionaries and persecution of Christians in a letter dated 23rd January, 1805. Th requested the Collector to put a stop to these persecutions and allow the same religious toleration to the Christians, as Muhammadans, Parsees and Hindus.[27]

Travancore was in the eyes of the Christians of Tanjore a others, a land full of devils. When Vēdamāṇikkam, after his co version and baptism, asked Rev. John Caspar Kohlhoff for a nati teacher to preach the Gospel and remain in Travancore, he fused it on the above ground.[28] When Vēdamāṇikkam's teachin gained ground and a small group of Christians were organised

23 Ibid., p. 100
24 *Ibid.*
25 *Ibid.*, pp. 67–69
26 Rev James Hough, *History of Christianity in India* (Lond 1845), Vol. III, p. 680.
27 Christian knowledge societys' Report for 1805, 1806.
28 C.M Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 444–45.

Mylady persecutions began and strong attempts were made to arrest the progress of Christianity.[29] His neighbours began to hate and abuse him. He was expelled from his community. The opposition was so strong that he seriously thought of leaving the country with his family to Tanjore.[30] He left Mylady for Tanjore with the idea of requesting the help of a missionary not only to preach and guide the Christians of Mylady but also to protect them from persecution.[31] When the persecution and harassment of Christians became intolerable and serious, Kohlhoff issued immediate instructions to depute a catechist to Travancore and to render all possible help to the suffering Christians.[32] In his letter dated 15th December 1804 Mr. Satyanādhan, who was in-charge of the Tinnevelly Mission, wrote to Mr. Kohlhoff that the atmosphere in Travancore was unfavourable to the preaching of the Gospel.[33]

When Rev. Kohlhoff was thus endeavouring to relieve the sufferings of the persecuted Christians of Mylady, Col. Macaulay, who was a very sincere well-wisher of the Christians, also took earnest measures to alleviate the sufferings of his co-religionists in South Travancore.[34] When the native authorities opposed his interference he remonstrated with them. But the government did nothing to remove the sufferings of the Christians of Mylady.[35]

On the arrival of Ringeltaube in Travancore on the 25th April 1806, he confronted the superstitious beliefs of the people and the opposition of the authorities. He rested in an inn appropriated for the Brahmins, when the Magistrate immediately sent word to him to remove himself from there, as otherwise their village god would not eat. When the Christians of Mylady gave him a good description of the political set up and the persecutions to which they were subject, he sent a catechist, who came from

29 Robert Caldwell, Records of the Early History......pp. 55-60.
30 *Ibid.*, pp. 129–30
31 *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7
32 C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 481
33 Robert Caldwell, Records of the Early History......, p. 112.
34 C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 481.
35 *Ibid.*

one of the neighbouring churches, to the magistrate with a requ
not to presecute the Christians.[36]

The first attempts of Ringeltaube to convert the people
Christianity were met with great opposition from the Brahm
and other Hindus. He recorded many such incidents: "A m
from Kadeysdile (Kaliyikkavila near Parassala in Trivandrum D
trict ?) came and complained of a glaring piece of persecuti
from a Brahmin in office. Though all was well attested, I w
obliged to beg him, in the name of Christ, to hear it patien
and expect an ample reward in heaven; he consented, thou
with a heavy heart. Such cases are frequent in India."[37]

Another incident tore his heart, which persuaded him
pray for the persecutors in the Christian fashion. In his Di
he wrote: "Two men from Puḷiankāḍu came and told me, t
heathen in a neighbouring village, had surprised them at praye
beat them all, some of them almost to death, and had not ev
spared the women and children.

"Set out for that place to enquire. At night I reached Naz
reth, where I found two entire families from Puḷiankāḍu, who h
been beaten unmercifully. They excited my commiseration; th
were quite agitated and distressed, especially the women, throu
fear.

"On enquiry I found that a Christian having spoken an u
advised word to a candidate from the heathen, this latter h
called above one hundred men upon the little flock when at
church (it consisted of about twenty souls), who had first cruel
beat them, then threatened to fire the church if they met aga
From various reasons I did not think it proper to commence
prosecution; but with the utmost tenderness comforted our peop
from the joy of the holy apostles of the Lord, who were called
suffer shame and scourgings before the Sannedrim for the nam
of Christ. Though they were far from showing a similar hero
disposition, yet I was especially pleased with two Paḷḷar famili

36 Robert Caldwell, Records of the Early History......, p. 1
37 *Ibid.*, 163

whom I could not but regard as confessors who would one day shine in glory. I desired the ring leaders of that mob to come before me, that I might tell them the consequences, if again they committed a similar breach of the peace; but they had absconded. We prayed heartily for our persecutors."[38]

The Travancore Rebellion of 1809 waged against the British in Travancore was for the purpose of preventing the spread of Christianity. This could be seen from the severe proclamations and acts of the Daḷava Vēlu Tampi before and during the war. He wrote letters to the Rajahs and chiefs of neighbouring kingdoms indirectly specifying that the important motive of the war was to prevent the spread of Christianity. In an important letter addressed to the Zamorin Rajah of Calicut he declared that the chief cause for his plans against the English was his "great apprehensions of the extension of Christian faith in Travancore."[39] He complained of the encouragement given by the English for the propagation of Christianity in Travancore.[40] In the course of the rebellion the Dewan perpetrated a series of atrocities against the Christians. The dreadful masscre of the Christians was conducted under the authority of an officer named Kunji Kuṭṭi Piḷḷai, appointed by the Dewan.[41] The Cochin Dewan Pāliyatt Accan also wreaked vengere on the Christians of Cochin, and Macaulay says that his heart yearned when he saw the bodies of thousands of Christians with hands and feet tied floating on the sea.[42] The cause for Vēlu Tampi's committing these atrocities was that, Ringeltaube, the Protestant missionary, requested permission for erecting a church at Mylady and Col. Macaulay patronised the Christians. Ringeltaube recorded in a statement he presented to Col. Munro: "I can never think of those times without feeling my heart wrung afresh, and praising God for his geacious deliverance."[43]

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 164–65
39 Thornton, *History of the British Empire*, p. 124.
40 Sec. Cons. Jan. 1809, No. 318.
41 C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 536.
42 *Ibid.*
43 *Ibid.*, p. 591.

Dr. Buchanan on his visit to Travancore recorded the do nation of the Brahmins and their treatment of Christians Travancore. He wrote on 24th December 1806– "I passed a w at the palace of the Rajah at Travancore, who aids me v liberally in all my pursuits. The Brahmins and the present mini had taught the young man (he is only twentyfive) to oppose Christians. But he promises milder treatment in future. T favourable change is produced by the exertions of Col. Macaul the Resident, who I am happy to say, is much alive to the terests of religion.[44] Again, in another letter dated London, 2 April, 1809, he expressed his great anxiety and sympathy towa persecuted Christians: "The Christians of Travancore are suffer persecution, which may do them good. I foresee another confl on Missions, may we all be found faithful and prudent, wise a harmless!"[45]

The distresses of the common people were observed Ringeltaube who recorded: "As to the distresses of the po Shanars during past few months of my stay here, nothing came my knowledge except that fowls and gram were pressed at low a price."[46] They were persecuted in many ways. Taxes w collected from them arbitrarily, and the mode of collection creat more resentment and sufferings than the amount of the tax. T backward classes at first endured the sufferings without uttering word.[47]

When Ringeltaube converted and baptized the brother Dewan Ummiṇi Tampi, Christening him Samuel Tampi in 181 the Nairs became angry. Samuel Tampi was deprived of h allowance from the palace. Although he lost all the privileges, remained a Christian to the end. His mysterious disappearan some years after led many to suspect that he was violently put death.[48]

The successor of Ringeltaube, Rev. Charles Mead, experienc

44 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 583.
47 *Ibid.*, pp. 585–86.
48 *Ibid.*, p. 56, 580

great difficulty and opposition from the people and government, His work was obstructed in all ways and his people were subjected to severe persecution. He expressed great concern over these over acts of persecution. Their sufferings and struggle for existence were recorded by him in the most heart–felt manner: "They had been persecuted by the rich heathen natives, and forcibly taken from their houses by night to drag the timbers required for the repairs of the idolatrous cars; some have been imprisoned and fined, others cruelly taken and lacerated with the branches of the tamarind tree: and no redress has been obtained. The British Resident attended to my representation on one occasion, and issued orders that the proclamation for tolerating Christianity should be observed; but secret orders from the native authority have recently been issued to take all our people, except on Sunday, to drag the pagoda timber."[49]

In the beginning of 1822 there were several complaints of persecutions. Early in March 1822, Mundram, Naḍānkuṭṭy and others, who were the headmen of the villages of Kuḷattuviḷa and Palankerry went to Kottānviḷa congregation of Kaḍiapaṭnam in Kolachel, near Nagercoil and authoritatively asked the Christians there to contribute money for the purpose of celebrating a festival to their village idols. Nīdiyuḍayān, and Yeśūdiyān, who were staunch Christians and leaders of the Christian group there, refused to pay. When the Hindus found that the Christians were not inclind to listen to their request, they took them to the Kālāḷ Officer. The officer tied one of the Christians by name Yōvān of Palankerry, who was in the group of Nīdiyuḍayān and Yeśūḍiyān, to a tree, beat him up, and compelled him to write a receipt to pay tax for toddy. This the officer did in violation of the express orders of the government to collect tax only from those who wished to sell toddy and not to extort receipts from the people. Yōvān being unable to bear the ill–treatment paid the tax and the bribe. The other two Christians, Nīdiyuḍayān and Yeśūḍiyān, were imprisoned for several weeks.[50] Mead recorded in 1822 of the persecution of Christians and the attitude of the Courts in the following words: "I am sorry to find that the

49 *Report to the L. M. S.*, 1842, p. 65
50 C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 776–77

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Judges in the Courts to the southward very much lack in th duty to Christians. They say that they require an express or for every subject brought before them. I wish something will b done to obtain attention in the courts, to the grievances of Chr tians. They are perhaps obnoxious to the heathen on accoun their connection with the British Missionaries, while the Christia themselves certainly look to the English authorities for protectio and aid in what is lawful."[51]

The proclamation of 1829 issued in the course of the seco upper–cloth revolts, was with a view to prevent the further spre of Christianity. It prohibited new or recent converts from interfe ing with the privileges of the caste Hindus as prescribed by ancie custom and usage. The injunction that the Christian conve should not infringe the ancient usage meant that, they should n on the ground of their conversion act towards caste Hindus in different manner from what they were accustomed to do befo their conversion. If any of the backward class converts departe from the above rule or regulation, they infringed the custom a usage of the country and offended the feelings of the Hindus.[52]

The missionaries of the L. M. S. experienced much difficu to get permission to erect a church at Trivandrum, the capital Travancore and the seat of the Rajah. When converts to Chris anity began to increase in Trivandrum a good deal of oppositi was felt. A Christian named Perumāl was beaten and tortured the heat of the Sun until he vomited blood. The Revenue offic of Āttingal remarked: "There vomits up his Christianity, the are thirty or forty more whom we must serve the same."[53] T officer further set fire to the houses of some of the Christians i

51 *Ibid.*, pp. 778–79. Col. Morrison says: " They (Courts) a deemed corrupt and dilatory; and the people generally a too litigious to abstain from going to them, many app to depend more on corruption than the justice of th cause. Hence I conceive the innumerous complai against the decrees of the Courts". Pol. Cons. 23 J 1830, No. 16.

52 *English Records*, Government Secretariat, Trivandr Cover File No. 215. p. 22.

53 Quoted in C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 920.

the Trivandrum Mission. In Vakkom the converts were attacked in various ways and as a result of that their number lessened.[54]

The persecution of the Christians reached its climax between 1840 and 1860, when General Cullen was Resident.[55] His activities and indifference relating to the Protestant Christianity created resentment among the missionaries. Rev. Abbs wrote in his reports: "The Native Government is decidedly heathen and so much opposed to the spread of Christianity, while the Europeans of rank and power behold our efforts with indifference and distrust."[56]

On coming to Travancore, Gen. Cullen brought with him a Telugu Brahmin named Krishna Row as his 'protege'.[57] He was however appointed Huzoor Deputy Peiskar and from that time onwards he began to exert a malignant influence on the administration. In a memorandum of protest addressed by the Maharajah to the Supreme Government at Calcutta against the Resident and his protege, it was said of the latter that, "by his dissolute conduct, low vulgar manners and arbitray disposition he has made himself universally detested and to be considered a scourge to the country."[58]

This led to Krishna Row's dismissal. But "General Cullen was much vexed at the treatment offered to his man which he took as one offered indirectly to himself"[59] and so before the Maharajah's death, he recalled and appointed Krishna Row Dewan Peishkar. After the death of the Rajah he was appointed Dewan on the recommendation of the Maharaja Mārtāṇḍa Varma, with the reluctant approval of the Madras Government.[60] With that began a new era of persecution and severity.

In 1846 a convert to the Protestant Church from Īḻava caste by name Crispus Barnabas was assaulted and his property plundered.

54 *Ibid.*

55 Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual* (Trivandrum, 1900) Vol. I, p. 386.

56 *Report to L. M. S.*, 1842, p. 166; 1843, p. 77.

57 Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 491–92.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 496.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 497.

60 Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

On complaining at the District Court he was abused b one of the court officers, and ordered to stand outside the cou house. The case was represented to the Travancore Governme The acting Dewan of Travancore, who was the Head Dew Peishkar, in his report to the Resident stated that, "it appea that the Goomastah not being aware that the Native Teache who is an Ellower by caste, had embraced Christianity, simp ordered him to retire to a distance to avoid pollution."[61]

In February 1851 an edict was issued by the Dewan, wh deprived the Protestant Christians of their privileges. They w harassed and oppressed. They were even prohibited from usi the public streets. The objectionable passage in this edict "Though an Ellower becomes a Christian he must not cease to b an Ellower — therefore you must not allow Cherian and oth converts to the Christian religion to pass through the public hi way by the temple but must compel them to go round through t fields."[62] For the complaints of the Christians to the govern ment, the Dewan stated: "It is only the Protestant Christia converts in North Travancore, the majority of whom were Ellowe and other low caste people for whom privileges are now claime which are perfect innovations"; therefore the privileges grant to them should discontinue.[63] The police officers instead of usi their authority to allay the persecution, "have fanned t flame."[64]

The Christians were persecuted even for slight mistakes. T case of Arumaināyakom of the Trivandrum Mission is instance. In October 1854 the Christian Nāḏārs refused to pe form their usual services to the Rāni's Sripadam Palace. Th Kāryakār, who conducted the enquiry, seized Dēvasahayam, wi his wife Cinnai and several others, and put them in confineme for refusing to sign an agreement to perform the work witho

61 English Records. Memorandum Explanatory of the Nat Protestant Christians in North Travancore, Cover No. 215, p. 48.
62 English Records, Trivandrum, (See Document No. 11)
63 *Ibid.*
64 *Ibid.*

pay.[65] He was so shockingly ill-treated that he vomited blood and died. The real cause of ill-treatment was his profession of Christianity.[66]

A number of Īḻavas of Āttingal, the estate of the Ranees of Travancore, had embraced Christianity. They were for that cause severely persecuted by the local officials, who declared that they would not tolerate such conversions. One man Thomas Paul, was assaulted in his house, beaten and dragged till he was insensible, and then taken to prison, where he was kept many days. He was released only when he became so seriously ill, that they were afraid he would die. Another man was stopped by the persecutors one Sunday morning while he was on his way to divine worship, reviled for being a Christian and beaten so severely that he lay ill in the chapel for days.[67]

In April 1885, Mr. White House reported the case of Arumaināyakam, a converted slave. He was beaten and tortured by his masters Māḏan Piḷḷai and Cidambaram Piḷḷai for attending Christian worship.[68] The Lubbays of Iraṇiyal and Tēṅṅgāpaṭṭaṇam also caused serious injuries to the Christians. Mr. Baylis stated that one Arumaināyakam, a catechist, was beaten by the Lubbays on his way home after performing divine service. One Christian woman was ravished, another woman had her ears torn open by the Lubbays. These Lubbays committed several acts of violence, but they were lightly punished and the government indirectly encouraged them.[69]

The missionaries were also not left undisturbed. On the 1st February 1853 Rev. Mault and Rev. Lewis were assaulted on their way back home after paying a visit to Rev. Russel by Brahmins, who were conducting a religious procession in the vicinity of Sucindram temple. Neither the incident was properly investigated

65 Copies of the Official Papers sent from India touching the Recent Disturbances in Travancore, Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6th Aug. 1859, p. 14
66 *Ibid.*
67 *Ibid.*, Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 296.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
69 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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nor the wrong doers were brought to book.[70] Rev. M
painfully wrote in his report: The object of "the native Gove
ment is to discourage and defeat our attempts to propagate
truth, and to compel the people who are now coming to light
return to the gloom of heathenism."[71] After many years
labour in Travancore, on the eve of his retirement, Mead p
sented a grim picture of the future of Christianity in Travanco
"It is certain that Christianity is not likely to prevail extensiv
in the present state of things. Idolatry and the customs of cas
are upheld by authority and the very protest have not yet had th
protection that is necessary, if they are to enjoy the benefits o
instruction. Our whole course has been a series of conflicts t
prevent the entire destruction of our Native congregations."[72]

When such was the position, the missionaries came to assi
the poor people. They raised their voice against the injustic
shown by the native authorities. Rev. Mead, when the perse
cution was intolerable, indirectly advocated the annexation o
Travancore by the Company, as the ultimate remedy for all evi
— "The Society will, I hope, endeavour to obtain justice fo
our Christian Missionaries and their converts, who reside i
Native States in alliance with the East India Company. This
the point to which attention should be directed and inquiry mad
of the English authorities. It will be found that we and ou
converts are at present without the least protection and ar
exposed to the operation of the native laws which make n
distinction between the killing of a cow, or defacing an idol, bu
award the punishment of death equally to each of these cases.

"Travancore is what is called an independent State, bu
according to the Treaty, authority over it can be resumed at an
time by the British Government, who are responsible for the du
administration of justice........"[73]

After Charles Mead the missionary who took up the cause o
persecuted Christians came Rev. John Cox. One serious complai

70 C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 915–16
71 *Ibid.*, p. 897
72 Cited by C. M. Agur, *Ibid.*
73 Cited by C. M. Agur, *Ibid.*, 897–98.

was that of Cinnai, the widow of Dēvasahāyam, mentioned earlier. The appeal of Dēvasahāyam's widow was not heard. When the appeal was not heard by any body, John Cox took up the case. He accused the Dewan and the government of countenancing murder and other crimes. When the Resident and the Dewan forbade Cox from complaining to them, he put the question — "But could the feelings of an English man and the grief of a minister of Religion at the suffering victims of persecution be extinguished?"[74]

Then he appealed to the public. Before taking the final step he appealed to the Friends of Humanity at Trivandrum, and charged the tormentor of Dēvasahāyam with murder, and authorities with callous indifference to the crime. His circular dated January 12, 1855 began with the sentence; "To my fellow Christians and all others who have feelings of humanity", and ended with an invitation to his countrymen in India and all who were Christians, "to exercise their peculiar privileges with which no man can interfere in sympathy with the sufferers and in redoubling their prayers to our God, that He will graciously appear to save His people, to promote His Gospel, which brings goodwill to man, and to awaken the evil doers to a fear of that Divine sentence which says 'who so sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed'."[75]

Although his appeal moved the minds of the people, the Resident did nothing immediately. There upon Rev. John Cox appealed to the Madras Government by a petition dated February 12, 1855, in which he complained of specific acts of oppression and violence committed by local officials. He also forwarded several individual petitions from Christians, like Cinnai, Joseph Paul and others, who were persecuted by authorities.[76] He complained that the government officials with the Dewan were in league to oppress and insult the Christians.[77] This time the case of

74 Ibid., p. 922; Copies of Official Papers......, p. 17.
75 Cited by C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 923.
76 Copies of official papers...... p. 14–17
77 Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Letter from Lord Harris to the Maharajah of Travancore dated November 21, 1855, pp. 513–15.

Arumaināyakam, the converted slave, mentioned earlier, was reported by Mr. White house. A case was filed against the offenders and the magistrate fined them Rs. 5/–each. The missionaries felt that it was an insult and mockery to fine only Rs. 5/– each for so serious a crime and appealed to the Madras Government to interfere. As a result of that the fine was increased to Rs. 70/- and the government officials were warned concerning their leniency in actions in such a serious crime, so subversive of peace.[78]

The leading English newspaper in the Madras Presidency, the 'Madras Athenaeum', edited by Mr. Meade, the famous writer of the 'Centenary of Plassey', warmly espoused the cause of the persecuted Christians. It brought a series of charges against the Travancore administration and exposed the prevalence of corruption, cruelty and torture. The articles exposing the mal-administration and corruption so rampant in Travancore were written by a correspondent under the pseudonym of 'Not the Last'. It depicted the Dewan in the worst colours, and dragged Gen. Cullen into unpleasant notoriety. Shungoony Menon has recorded: "Torture in its vilest forms was stated to have been practised immediately under the Dewan's eye and by the police, throughout the country".[79] Athenaeum directed public attention to Travancore and the evils with which it was afflicted.

The publication of the articles continued and the result was that the general impression became unfavourable towards the Travancore administration. The people believed that there was not a worse–ruled kingdom than Travancore. Gen. Cullen did all in his power to keep the Madras Government acquainted with the facts, but, that Government was not quite free from an uneasy feeling as to the real state of things. The Rajah hearing of the prevalence of oppression in Travancore from Athenaeum, deputed private emissaries to the local districts to see if torture or other acts of oppression were practised by the police and Dewan Krishna Row. He instituted thorough enquiries and examples of misconduct were discovered, and this was taken as corroborative of the

78 Copies of Official Papers...... pp. 18–19

79 Shungoony Menon, *op. cit*., p. 456.

existence of oppression and arbitrary practices as urged by Not the Last.[80]

In July 1855 the missionaries presented a joint petition to the Government of Madras detailing the facts of oppression and cruelty to Christians, which proved the political atmosphere of Travancore to be deplorably bad.[81] The police was shown as a tremendous engine of iniquity and oppression. People were seized and imprisoned for indefinite periods without investigation. The most barbarous treatment in prison prevailed, torture was practised and robbery was rampant. The high officials were of bad character. Criminals and inefficient men were appointed to high offices. The Courts were also corrupt. A system of forced labour for government supplies existed, which opened a wide door for oppression. The innumerable evils that arose from the pepper, salt and cardamon monopoly prevented the development of free trade and the material resources of the country.[82] All the evils were fully exposed in the petition. The missonaries concluded the petition with the following request: " We pray for the appointment of a Commission of well qualified Europeans with full-powers first to secure the records in the Courts and public offices and then to enquire into the whole affairs of the Government."[83] The Rajah also acknowledged that there was some ground for complaint and stated that he was endeavouring to improve matters.[84]

The petitions sent by missionaries to the Governor at Madras were forwarded to Gen. Cullen with instructions to institute immediate enquiries, and to investigate and report upon the allegations contained in them. A cold war between the missionaries and Gen. Cullen followed. John Cox tried his best to prove the charges brought forward against the Travancore Government. Seeing

80 *Ibid*., pp. 456–57.

81 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 296.

82 Copies of official papers......, pp. 25–30; Ibid., p. 297.

83 Copies of Official Papers...... pp. 29–31. This united petition dated 26th July 1855 was signed by all missionaries of the L.M.S. in Travancore; Messrs. Russel, John Cox, E. Lewis, White House, John Abbs and Baylis.

84 *Ibid*., p. 32.

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that the charges alleged were of a very grave nature and th
were corroborated in some measure by the constant petitio
received from the natives of Travancore, the Madras Governme
decided that investigation of some sort was imperative.[85]

The constant appearance in the Athenaeum of various unfa
vourable accounts about Travancore, the depressed condition of
the finances and the excess in the expenditure had attracted th
attention of the Governor General Lord Dalhousie. When infor
mation regarding the great expenditure incurred in the performanc
of *Hiraṇyagarbhadānam* at such a time reached him, the annex
ation fever broke out afresh. He considered it a favourable
opportunity for the Government of India to interfere with th
affairs of Travancore. He wrote a minute containing instructions
to the Madras Government to impress upon the Travancore Rajah
the necessity of immediate reformation and correction of the dis
organised state of affairs. Accordingly, Lord Harris, Governor of
Madras, addressed a letter to Rajah Mārtāṇḍa Varma inviting hi
attention to the misrule and manifold abuses rampant in Travan
core, and advised him to avert the impending calamity by a
enlightened policy and judicious reforms.[86] The Rajah admitted
that there were just grounds for complaints. The Madras Govern
ment however, was unwilling to institute a Commission and th
matter delayed. When such was the state of affairs Dewan
Krishna Row, against whom the chief complaints were directed
fell ill and died in 1858 and the proposed investigation becam
unnecessary.[87]

The fight of the missionaries to put a stop to the persecution
of the Christians was not cared by the authorities. It was like
lone sound in the wildness and persecution continued unmolested
In 1858 a man named Kuṇamuḍayan of Malayanviḷa, for reason
of presenting the illegal proceedings and misdeeds of the Tahsilda
to the Dewan, was imprisoned. The missionary Rev. Jam

85 *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.
86 Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Letter from Lord Harris to th
Maharajah of Travancore dated November 21, 185
pp. 513–15.
87 Copies of Official Papers ...

Russel represented the matter to the Resident and requested him to interfere and release the complainant and order an investigation. The missionary advised the government, "to lay down as a rule that every official who cannot conduct the business for which he holds office without complaints of oppression and injustice should be dismissed without redress and instantly let this be throughly understood and impartially acted upon and these would soon be a very state of things in the country." He feared that, "investigation as against an official and a humble Christian is only a waste of time and a source of further oppression to the poor people."[88] The Dewan instead of taking action against the Tahsildar complained that the Christians were rebellious, and disobeying the local authorities.[89]

On 19th February 1858 Viśvāsam Vēdanāyakam catechist and others of Agastīśvaram village complained to the Resident of the ill-treatment of the Christians by the Tahsildar and Parvattikar of Agastīśvaram. These officers acted with great injustice and cruelty. The poor people who refused to carry salt and deliver writing cadjans *gratis* were kept in prison and exposed to starvation and disease.[90] No actions were taken on the officers for such hardships inflicted on the unprivileged classes. Baylis wrote: "I feel bound to say that I have never yet known of any complaint brought by one of the lower classes against one of the higher in Travancore receiving any proper attention in the Police. All the officials are banded together against the unfortunate applicant for justice—all kinds of delays are purposely made, all kinds of intimidations and oppressions are resorted to, until he is wearied out, finding that he only gets further trouble for all his efforts to get his complaint redressed."[91]

88 English Records, Letter from James Russel to the Resident dated February 20, 1858, (See Document No. IV)
89 *Ibid.*, Letter from the Dewan to the Resident dated March 8, 1858. (See Document No. V)
90 *Ibid.*, The Humble petition of Viśvāsam Vēdanāyagam to the Resident dated Feb. 19, 1858, (See Document No. III)
91 *Ibid.*, Letter from Baylis to the Resident dated Neyyūr, January 1, 1859 (See Document No. VII)

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Tirumala Samuel and some other Christians of Ellanśantivi Kuḍiyirippu in Agastīśvaram village, were oppressed by the local authorities. They were also compelled by them to convey the salt manufactured at the Tāmarakuḷam pans, instead of getting the work done by coolies or labourers on payment of hire as usual. They were also compelled to supply coconut leaves as fodder for elephants and writing cadjans for the use of government. The officers also sent the *Dēśakāvalkār* to their abodes and molested them in various ways; that aroused much of the people's opposition.[92]

Jōsayya, catechist of Kuḷattuviḷa, was unjustly beaten and imprisoned by the Pravartikar of Pārakkay. He appealed to the Dewan for redress. The Dewan sent him for that purpose to the Peishkar, he to the Tahsildar, and so on. Although the charges against the officer were proved, no action was taken for a long time. This opportunity was taken by the enemies at Kuḷattuviḷa to cut down a margosa tree of the largest growth belonging to one of the congregation and take it away without leave from the owner and without offering him any compensation. The reason put forward was that, "they required it to boil milk for the Sirkar."[93] The mode of procedure to obtain justice was "nothing less than a studied bambooying of the complainant and tantamount to a shielding of the matter altogether."[94] The events narrated above directly led to the People's Revolt of 1858–59.

The Travancore Government had thus not followed a policy of religious toleration towards the converts to Christianity from socially backward classes. So the opinion of certain historians on the basis of certain concessions granted to the Syrian Christians and others that the Travancore Government was an enlightened government,[95] which extended equality to religions, is not correct. This boasted tolerance of Christanity took its rise from a series

92 *Ibid.*, Letter to General Cullen dated Trivandrum, March 1858 (See Document No. V)

93 *Ibid.*, Letter from E. Lewis to the Resident dated Śāntapuram, April 25, 1859 (See Document No. XLIX)

94 *Ibid.*, Letter from F. Baylis to the Resident dated Śāntapuram March 16, 1859 (See Document No. XL)

95 Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

of circumstances rather than from any deliberate policy on the part of the Hindu rulers.[96] It was through the strong protection afforded by the British officials that full liberty was granted, by which Christian Missions greatly prospered inspite of native intolerance. The early Christians were valuable traders, colonists and allies and were invited by Hindu chieftains from neighbouring territories to settle in Travancore. They gave prosperity to the country. But with the conquest of the regions they inhabited, they had fallen under various disabilities. They were allowed to have only very little in the administration of the state. In a letter to the Madras Government from Quilon in 1818, the Resident Col. Munro said: "The Syrians were exposed to still greater calamities in the conquest of their country by the Rajah of Travancore. The blighting influence of that despotic and merciless Government, was felt by them in the most aggravated degree, and they were reduced to the lowest state of proverty and depression"[97] Dr. Claudius Buchanan, who visited the ancient Syrian churches, also recorded the same opinion: "I perceived all round, symptoms of poverty and political depression. In the churches, and in the air there was the air of fallen greatness."[98] The Syrian priests said to him; "they (the Government) indeed recognise our ancient personal privileges, for we rank in general, next to the Nairs, the nobility of the country; but they have encroached by degrees on our property, till we have been reduced to the humble state in which you find us. The glory of our church has passed away; but we hope your nation will revive it again".[99]

The Portuguese power aided the admission to this country of Francis Xavier and other early Roman Catholic missionaries. The Portuguese demanded toleration and freedom for their converts,

96 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 393.

97 *Ibid.*

98 Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, p. 98.

99 *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99. "The Hindoo Princes never touched our liberty of conscience. We are formerly on a footing with them in political power; and they respect our religion. We have also converts from time to time; but in this Christian duty we are not so active, as we once were besides it is not so creditable now to become Christians, in our low caste".

which the rulers, unable to resist, granted.[100] The Synod of Diamper even came to the extent of requesting the King of Portugal to take the Christians under his protection, for "... manifold injustices, oppressions and grievance where with infidel kings and Governors do often treat the Christians." The Dutch Government also was always ready to take up arms in defence of the Christian religion.[101] Although privileges were granted to the Roman Catholic missionaries like Bartalomeo, their converts were required to be present at idolatrous festivals and their females were dragged by force to Hindu dances. Proselytism being a transgression of the laws of the country converts could only be baptized in the night, or at Vīrāppaḷḷi, under the protection of the Dutch Government.[102] Cruelties were operated as a warning to prevent conversions from the noble families.

When the Protestant Mission was commenced by Ringeltaube in 1806, great difficulty was experienced to obtain the requisite permission and the converts were severely persecuted. So also when the missionaries, Rev. Mead, Rev. Addis, requested permission to start a Mission in Trivandrum, permission was not granted upto 1838 on account of the strong prejudices of the local government and of the Brahmins.[103] All privileges and liberty were won with the help of British interference, and not because of the broadmindedness of the native authorities. When the Christians were persecuted severely Rev. Mead presented a very grim picture and even came to the extent of saying that, "Christianity is not likely to prevail extensively in the present state of things," and advocated the annexation of the state.[104]

We could hardly say, therefore, that the Travancore Government was an enlightened government which followed religious tolereation and conferred rights and privilegs to the Christians of

100 Rev. James Hough, *The History of Christianity in India* (London, 1839) Vol. II, p. 682.
101 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 394.
102 Cited in R.N. Yesudas, The Travancore Rebellion of 180[illegible] Its' Anti-Christian Origin, *Journal of Kerala Studies* Vol. I.
103 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 395.
104 Cited by C.M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 897.

this country. The fact is that the influence of the Christian missionaries and the strong protection afforded by the British Government, compelled the Rajah and his officers to confer benefits on the Christians, who always presented their worries and grievances to the Missionaries and not to the government. The government even went to the extremity of requesting the Christians to present their petitions before them instead of submitting them to the missionaries, who were foreigners.[105]

Persecution, ill-treatment and the reluctance shown by the native government and caste Hindus in granting privileges and freedom to the Christian converts and others of unprivileged classes united them in South Travancore. The Nāḍārs, both Hindu and Christian, who were influenced by English education, Christian religion and western civilisation took up the leadership and the missionaries supported them. The discontentment grew like a volcano and it burst out when the caste Hindus stripped the jackets and upper–clothes of Nāḍār women.

105 *Directorate of State Archives*, Trivandrum, Nīṭṭu Vol. 20, p. 48.

5

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLT

THE revolt for the right to cover the bosoms of low caste women of Travancore was essentially one of the Nāḍārs against the caste Hindus; but it assumed the appearance of a Hindu-Christian clash.[1] A number of issues there were and they were those connected with the Christian and Hindu religions, caste and progress, rigid conservatism and liberal reform.[2] The European missionaries, who worked among the socially backward classes, introduced liberal and revolutionary reforms and supported them in all their movements and activities. These missionaries claimed perfect toleration and liberty for their converts without taking into consideration the time, the country and the nature of the government.[3] As the Nāḍār and other Christian converts advanced in education and business and improved in worldly circumstances, they hesitated to suffer as before the injustice and oppression to which they had been exposed by the caste Hindus. The privileged classes could not brook the advancement of the unprivileged who

1 Letter from E. Lewis to the Resident, dated Śāntapuram, January 21, 1859. Government Secretariat, Trivandrum, English Records: (See document No. XX.)

2 Rev. Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity* (London, 1871) p.298.

3 Shungoony Menon, *History of Travancore* (Madras, 1878) p. 504.

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were rising through education and religion to an equality w... themselves.[4]

The immediate and ostensible subject of dispute was the ... of an upper-cloth by women of unprivileged classes. The ca... Hindus did not like to see the women of socially backward cla... walking through the streets and roads with their bosoms covere... A whole race of men were not for ever to be retained in such condition of prostration and subservience as that in which ... Nāḍārs had been kept. They had in large numbers became C... tians to avoid injustice and oppression. Many of this cas... South Travancore emigrated with their families to the Br... province of Tinnevelly, where the vast majority of the communi... lived, in search of employment during certain seasons of the yea... They intermarried with the Nāḍārs of this country. In Tinneve... their women were quite at liberty and were accustomed to clot... themselves above the waist decently.[6] But when they returned t... Travancore they were required to uncover the bosoms. But the... refused to remove the clothes from their breasts.

This was not viewed by the caste Hindus favourably, wh... were always in support of the established customs and tradition... A feeling of hostility existed between the parties from the earli... period of mission work in South Travancore, but by the stron... protection and toleration afforded to the Christian Missions, th... work of the missionaries progressed rapidly. The Travanco... Government being reluctant to enter into a conflict with th... missionaries, owing to its regard for the paramount power, desiste... from taking active measures and the result was that the cas... Hindus and the Nāḍārs, both Hindu and Christian, supported ... others of the unprivileged classes openly assumed hostile positio... against each other.[7] There were three stages in the struggle f... the right to wear clothes above waist that followed.

4 Rev. Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 276.
5 Letter from F. Baylis to the Resident General Cul... dated Neyyūr, January 10, 1849. English Records: (S... document No. XIII)
6 *Ibid:*, Letter from E. Lewis to the Resident dated Sān... puram, January 21, 1859. (See document No. XX)
7 Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

Mukilan, the Mughal Sardar, when he invaded South Travancore, introduced several reforms for the good of the women, who lived between Varkala and Viḷavankōḍu, which tract was under his sway. He was the first man who introduced reforms in the field of dress and broke the established customs before the introduction of the liberal reforms under the leadership of the missionaries of the L.M.S. He ordered that women should cover their bodies when going out of doors. Śūdra women should cover the upper part of their bodies with a cloth like men, and ...d not remain naked like their sisters of the north. The ...en need not wear the lower-cloth after the fashion of the women of North Trivandrum. After the death of Mukilan, the reforms introduced by him were buried underground and the people returned to the old barbarous days.[8]

After the establishment of the London Missionary Society and the spread of Protestant Christianity in South Travancore, Col. Munro, the Resident of Travancore, in 1812 issued an order permitting "the women converted to Christianity to cover their bosoms as obtains among Christians in other countries........"[9] The Government of Travancore issued a Circular Order in May 1814 permitting the women of the inferior classes of the population, who were converted to Christianity, to cover their bodies with a short bodice or jacket as was worn by the women of Syrian Chris-

8 Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual* (Trivandrum, 1900) Vol. I, pp. 312–13. Tippu Sultan also introduced several reforms for the welfare of the women of Malabar. His proclamation stated: "Since it is the practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices and are thence all born in adultery, and are more shameless in your connections than the beasts of the field: I hereby require you forsake these sinful practices and to be like the rest of mankind; and if you are disobedient to these commands I have made repeated vows to honour the whole of you with Islam and to march all the chief persons to the seat of Government." C. A. Innes, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar and Anjengo* (Madras, 1908) Vol. I, p. 72.
9 C. M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, Appendix I.

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tians, Māppiḷas and such others.[10] They had not been permi to wear the upper-cloth in the manner of the caste Hindus women of paravres, shanars and others of that description w ever to be allowed to wear clothes on their bosoms as the N women".[11]

Mrs. Mault, the founder of the lace-making industry Travancore, and other missionary ladies, who did not like Christian women to move about with their bosoms exposed their Hindu neighbours, had devised a loose jacket for the Chr tian female converts, which perhaps satisfied the modesty of European ladies, but did not meet the social aspirations of Nāḍār women. The same community in Tinnevelly wore breast cloth freely and the women of Travancore would have not ing less, for they considered the wearing of upper-cloth as symbol of their enhanced position.[12] Thus in addition to the prescribed jacket or often in lieu of it the Nāḍār women took liberty of appearing in public with an additional cloth or scarf ov the shoulders, as worn by the women of the caste Hindus. The pretensions of the Nāḍār convert women were resented by the caste Hindus, who took the law into their own hands and us violence to those who infringed the long standing custom and ca distinctions. The disturbances first started in May 1822 in t Kalkuḷam district. The Christian women who appeared in dece dress were mocked, abused and ill-treated in various ways markets and waysides by the Śūdras. They stripped the uppe clothes and jackets worn by the Nāḍār women. Rev. Mead, whose districts these disturbances took place, complained of the outrages to the Padmanābhapuram Court. When redress wa withheld, he appealed to the Resident describing the illegal pro ceedings of the irritated Śūdras at the innovation in the dress the Christian women. He also questioned the validity of imposi

10 Nagam Aiya *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 525.

11 Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers 1859, Session II, XX East India (Travancore) Copies of Official papers sent fro India touching the Recent Disturbances in Travanco India Office, 5th August 1859, Order of T. Pycroft, Ch Secretary to Government, dated January 27, 1859. (S Document. XXV)

12 Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 525.

nes for wearing dress. The Resident ordered an immediate quiry in the matter. The Christian Judges of Nagercoil and dmanābhapuram were required to report on the subject of the treatment of the Christians, generally in the southern regions, represented by Rev. Mead.[13]

As a result of Rev. Mead's appeals and agitations the Padma-bhapuram Court re-investigated the complaints and issued a cree favourable to the Christians. The decree of the Court lating to the wearing of dress by the Christians issued in 1823 ted thus: 'A complaint was lodged against some Christians under eir heathen names as Shanars......for their women wearing upper-oth, when it was decreed that they were to be fined in con-sequence of their women wearing an upper-cloth. An appeal ing made to this as there was a Proclamation allowing the hristians to wear an upper-cloth, then the Court writing to the Rev. Mead to enquire if these people were Christians and if he religion required them to wear the upper-cloth, and such other aste women as have embraced Christianity ought to wear an pper-cloth for the sake of decency when they go to the fairs, arkets and other places, and that they were instructed to do so, nd that it ought to be so ordered agreeably to Christianity. It as decreed that Shanoo Nalenkutty & Co, have no occasion to e fined for allowing their women to wear upper cloths......"[14]

Rev. Mead while gaining a great point in the decree remained utious in introducing revolutionary changes, as it was against e will and pleasure of the opposite parties. But the Christian omen on the strength of the above decree boldly continued to ear jackets and upper-clothes, though they were hated the more y their enemies. The only support they received was from the issionaries, who stood by them in the hour of trouble and gave em "the watchwords Liberty, Equality and Fraternity."[15] In all eir movements the Christians opposed the arbitrary, indecent nd shameful restrictions laid by the government, which they

13 C. M. Agur, *op. cit*, pp. 779-80.

14 *Ibid.*, Appendix XVIII, p. xlviii.

15 *T. Y. Harris*, Message *Church of South India Silver Jubilee Souvenir 1972*, South Kerala Diocese, Trivandrum.

thought were against the principles of Christianity.[16] The R...
was very much opposed to the freedom taken by the Chris...
Nāḍārs of Nāñcināḍ, who began to disobey the orders issued...
the officers, which went against their prestige.[17] Rev. Mead, af...
his success in the fight with the government to gain a favoura...
decree for the Christians, recommended them to obey the ord...
of the government and to avoid giving unnecessary offence...
the prejudices of the native population.[18] But the Christian Nāḍ...
women appeared always with the upper-clothes worn and t...
feelings of the caste Hindus against them rose high. The d...
pleased Śūdra aristocracy determined to put a stop to the progr...
of Christianity and to the wearing of upper-clothes by Christia...
women by any means. They were also irritated by the complain...
of the Christians to the missionaries against them.[19] The hostili...
that prevailed among them again burst out after a period of fi...
years, in 1828.

The revolt started for the second time in the middle of 182...
and continued till 1830. The caste Hindus started the revolt i...
threatening language and afterwards proceeded to overt acts o...
personal assault, annoyance and public outrage.[20] They secret...
plotted and gathered bullies from different places and devised a...
general sudden rise against the Nāḍār Christians. Their leade...
was one local revenue inspector by name Īśvara Piḷḷai. Rev. Mea...
wrote of the situation to the L.M.S. in the following words: "A...
first threatening language was used to deter the people from atten...
ding Christian worship. Men were seized on the Sabbath fo...
public works, schools were occasionally interrupted, the book...
were thrown into the streets or torn to pieces and the women were

16 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 782.
17 *Directorate of State Archives*, Fort, Trivandrum, Nit...
Vol. 15, p. 30.
18 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 782.
19 *Directorate of State Archives*, See Document No....
(Malayalam)
20 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 276-78.

...eaten in the public bazaar for wearing the upper-cloth over their
...osoms and the clothes were stripped from their bodies."[21]

The circumstances that led to the revolt in 1828 between the caste Hindus and Nāḍārs were numerous. Rev. Mead recorded: "The Shanars are esteemed a low caste, and before their acquaintance with Christianity were in general, depraved in their morals and filthy in their habits; Christianity has effected a considerable alteration in both those respects. The Soodras appear to be envious at seeing the improvement which the Christians present in their outward appearance and habits. They are vexed likewise at the Shanars because they refuse to labour for them without pay as they had been obliged to do while heathens. In former times a Shanar could not be sure of his property or liberty for a moment, for if a Soodran wished to possess himself of a field or a garden belonging to a Shanar, the latter could not refuse as the former was always in league with the police and could convict him falsely of crimes that might ruin him. Now the people are become more enlightened; they will not submit quietly to such imposition raised against Christianity, for it is thought to be the only barrier to a return to the old state of things.

"As the rich natives are aware of the desire of the British Residents to see justice done to all classes alike, they always endeavour to obtain the full benefit of this laudable feeling in the side of injustice and oppression, while they are dexterous at concealing their real intentions. Thus whenever a new Resident has come to the country, it has been usual for the Soodras to accuse the Shanars, and Christians especially, with being turbulent characters, unwilling to pay their taxes, and perform the public Ooliam services. It has been very plausibly stated, that some of them embraced Christianity to prevent complying with the just demands of the Sirkar. By turbulence, I believe, they mean, nothing more than a demand of what is due for labour, or a refusal to bear oppression without complaining of it. The charge of not paying taxes is preposterous, because those who will not

21 C. Mead, A Report of the Neyyoor Mission, July 1829, cited in Robert L. Hardgrave, *Nadars of Madras* (Bombay 1969), p. 61.

https://archive.org/details/@jebindp

pay their taxes lose their lands, and we have known that it h been made a favour and source of profit to receive taxes fro Christians and give a receipt. There may be sometimes a dema about the unpaid forced labour which generally falls on t Shanar caste, though all castes ought to take their sha But it is not in the power of the Christian to refuse work when called upon by the Sirkar officers; and as far us o influence goes we advise them to submit patiently to the perfo mance of these services.

"In October, 1828 the Christians of the District (Nagercoi presented a petition complaining of numerous grievances, whi they endured on account of their having embraced Christianity and fore seeing the troubles that might arise about the non-pay ment of taxes and performance of Ooliam services, they petitione that a Christian in every village should be held responsible for th payment of their taxes C. This is a proof that they did no wish to escape the just payment of their dues, while they dreade the oppression with which those dues are collected. As stri orders were given by the Resident to investigate these complaint and prevent a repetition of the causes of them, a favourabl result was anticipated. Subsequently, however, it appeared tha instead of redressing their grievances a plan was concerted upo an extensive scale to crush the Christians altogether i possible."[22]

The revolt commenced in the following manner: "The hea men of two or three villages had for several months been advising the new converts to abandon Christianity, and sometimes threat- ening them, if they did not. These threats and entreaties produc ing no effect the designs formed against the mission began to b unfolded. Whilst new regulations were perhaps only talked of a Trivandrum, the capital, they were considered as certain and acted upon in the South. The Christian women were ordered to take off their upper-clothes, and in many instances were beaten in the public bazaars for wearing them. The Soodras assembled in large bodies near several of the Chapels."[23]

22 Missionary Record, p. 311.
23 Quoted by C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 827-29.

They set fire to the chapels and school houses. Alarm and terror spread in every direction. Many people, as usual in the time of troubles in South Travancore, retired to the mountains, the only asylum for them to escape the fury of the opposition. The outbreak was too serious at Āṟṟūr.[24] Several Christians were seized from Āṟṟūr. Among them was a school master, whose house was plundered and burnt. The house of another Christian was broken open, robbed, his three sons seized in his absence, and he himself charged falsely with murder.[25] In another village, adjacent to Āṟṟūr, after seizing the men and insulting women, the persecutors cut off the ear of a very old woman.[26] "Unprotected as these native Christians are, every enemy of their religion seemed to take a cruel advantage of their defenceless state, to insult and injure them: the pagan idolator, the Mohammadan, and the Papist, as though united together by a common principle and instigated by a kindred spirit, seemed to exult equally in the violent and unprovoked aggressions to which they were exposed; and such was the infatuation to which the indulgence of the spirit of persecution led them at length that these peaceable and inoffensive people were in some places, absolutely watched and treated by their enemies as so many traitors and rebels."[27] The situation became so alarming and intolerable that military aid was requested to quell the revolt and to check the further violence of the assailants.[28]

The Piḍākakars, who were very powerful in Nāñcināḍ, were the leaders and organisers of the plot against the socially backward class Christian converts. They were assisted by local officials, who marched from village to village threatening and coercing the Christians.[29] They employed blacksmiths and carpenters to make

24 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 279.
25 *Ibid.*
26 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 830.
27 Missionary Record, p. 311.
28 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, P. 279.
29 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 830–32. The important officials who assisted the Piḍākakars were, Āticca Piḷḷai, Sairmanakar of Tāmanur; Mallan Piḷḷai. Viśarippukar of the Granary; Palpu Piḷḷai, the Elephant Keeper of Ảṟṟur and Bhagavati Piḷḷai, the Tana Naick of Takkala.

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pikes, hatchets, bows, arrows and swords, to commence violence. In their rage they beat and murdered one Vēdamāṇikkam of Pam- ḍikōṇam of Āṟṟūr and buried him.[30] They threatened the Christians by saying that, "As Colonel Macaulay's Bungalow was pulled down and he driven out of the country, so the missionary gentle man at Mundacad (Rev. Mead) who disturbs our peace will be served in the same way.

"If we only burn down all the chapels so that not one should remain, the missionaries will return to their country."[31]

The outbreak at Cannanore, another village near Āṟṟūr, was more serious. It started with the refusal of Christians on Sunday, December 21, 1828, to perform the ūḻiyam services and to feed the elephants employed in the Padmanābhapuram Fort. Īśvara Piḷḷai and some others knowing this, hurried to the place, seized a Christian beat him and forced him to carry a bundle of leaves towards Padmanābhapuram. On the way to Padma- nābhapuram a number of Christians under the leadership Eśakki Māḍan opposed it. They forced Īśvara Piḷḷai and his followers to quit the place and released their fellow Christian. Eśakki Māḍan and others placed the bundle of coconut leaves upon the head of one caste Hindu and made him carry it back to Canna- nore. The caste Hindus observed it as a great insult hatched by the backward classes on the superior classes. The caste Hindus assembled in large numbers on the 23rd December 1828 armed with guns, swords, clubs and knives. The Christians there fore- seeing the coming storm excepting a few women and children fled from their houses. The caste Hindus abused and ill–treated the women who remained. One was stripped naked and all were made to bare their breasts, as the covering of their breasts was considered an assumption of the privilege of the caste Hindu women. The houses of the Christians were pillaged and the churches of that place were burnt down.[32]

Another party of the Piḍākakars led by Parappan Piḷḷai abused the women, seized some Christian converts and threatened

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 832-33.
31 Quoted by C. M. Agur, *Ibid.*, p. 833.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 835.

them. "If you publicly say that you are Christians, we will immediately bind you and carry you to the Tanna Choultry. An order has already been received to seize and beat you, and plunder and burn your Chapels and houses, and the bunglows of your Missionaries. We have also received orders to spear the Padri residing at Mundacad with the spear used in hunting wild hogs and to kill him."[33] The Piḍākakars also said to the Christians that an order was issued to collect the old capitation tax from them. With the knowledge of the government officials Īśvara Piḷḷai and other leaders of the caste Hindus also manufactured gun powder and fire arms secretly,[34] probably to oust the missionaries from Travancore.

Rev. Mead visited the places where the revolts took place. On the 29th December he went to the Iraṇiyal Monday Market and enquired of the disturbances. Encouraged by the visit of their missionary the Christians captured some caste Hindus of Āṟṟūr and took them over to Rev. Mead's bunglow. Although they were released without any injuries the group to which they belonged resolved to assassinate Rev. Mead, the head of the Mission, who was according to them the fountain of all innovations and progress among the unprivileged classes. The night of January 3, 1829 was fixed for the purpose. Rev. Mead had heard of the plot in the evening and immediately appealed to the military authorities for help. Captain Sibbald with detachments of the 15th Regiment Madras infantry proceeded to Maṇḍakkāḍ for the relief of the missionary. The enemies who were engaged in a *pūja* or worship to Bhadrakali for success in the attempt, heard the sound of the advancing British detachments and fled at random. The military guarded the missionary's house for a fortnight. Military men were also despatched to protect the Christians and mission pro- perty of the places where disturbances took place.[35]

Rev. Mead wrote to the British Resident in detail about the general agitation that prevailed in the districts against the Christian converts and ascribed it to some alleged innovation in the dress of

33 Quoted by C. M. Agur, *Ibid.*, p. 836.
34 *Ibid.*
35 *Directorate of State Archives*, Trivandrum, Niṭṭu Vol. 20, p. 94; C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 838–39.

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the Christian women. Col. Morrison advised him to retire for time being to Nagercoil or Trivandrum. Captain Sibbald advised him to remove from Maṇḍakkāḍ. But the missio[illegible] replied that he would remain with the backward class peo[illegible] converted, or die with them.[36] Col. Morrison, the Resident, [illegible] the best in his power to help the missionary with his military, [illegible] increased the party at Udayagiri with detachments from hea[illegible] quarters.[37]

There was a very serious outbreak at Āṟṟūr for the seco[illegible] time connected with the revolt of 1828. Rev. Mead requested th[illegible] help of the police and the affray between the caste Hindus an[illegible] the Christians was satisfactorily quelled. For this outbreak th[illegible] military was not called.[38]

Captain Sibbald with the help of Rev. Mead arrested the rin[illegible] leaders of the disturbance. He was also instructed to enquire with what object Īśvara Piḷḷai and his associates had manufactured gun powder and fire arms. Captain Sibbald succeeded in dis[illegible] covering a number of weapons in the houses of powerful cast[illegible] Hindu leaders.[39]

The Resident advised the Dewan, Venkaṭṭa Row, to proceed to South Travancore and enquire into the outbreaks. Accord[illegible] ingly the Dewan with his Kaccēri (office) travelled through the villages and mission stations and made investigations on the out[illegible] breaks. The appeal Court was also orderd to move to the South to assist the Dewan. Captain Daly was deputed to the South to watch the proceedings of the local officers.[40] The public enquiries conducted by them showed the rude and uncivilised behaviour of the caste Hindus. Mr. Ashton, a missionary of the L.M.S. accompanied several aggrieved women, to the Dewan, who had been sent to investigate the outbreaks. Ashton wrote:

36 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 839.
37 *Directorate of State Archives*, Nīṭṭu Vol. 20, p. 94.
38 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, 840–41
39 *Ibid.*, p. 841.
40 *Directorate of State Archives*, Trivandrum, Nīṭṭu Vol. 20, p. 94.

"They went to a large building in the Fort at Padmanabhapuram, where the Dewan held his Court. The Sudra Sepoys would not allow the women to pass the gate-way covered, so they had to remove their clothes and re–clothe themselves after entering. They found the Dewan surrounded by a large guard in full uniform together with the Government officials (all of highcaste) and the head men of the Sudra villages, all filled with rage at the unfortunate Christians, and awaiting their arrival."[41]

Although the Christians presented their complaints against numberless individuals for gross cruelties, not a single individual of the privileged classes was confined to prison. Such was the type of justice afforded to the poor and socially backward subjects of the Rajah. In the words of Rev. Mead, "The time was occupied principally in framing additional complaints against the Christians. Several persons were added to those already seized and none of the Christians were allowed bail, as is usual; except in cases of murder for which they were committed to take their trial heavily chained."[42]

The caste Hindus lashed out at the missionaries and Christians because they believed that the Nāḍārs and other socially backward classes used Christianity to evade taxation and corvee labour as well as to raise their social status, which they thought would destroy their position. So they thought of destroying the missionary activities as the only way of checking the innovations and establishing the old customs and practices.

In the course of the enquiries the authorities observed that the customs and traditions of the country were evaded by the Christian missionaries. With a view to restricting these practices and their freedom the Government of Travancore issued a Royal Proclamation on 3rd February 1829 (23rd Makaram 1004), the important sections of which are: "Where as some disturbances have taken place in the Kalcolam, Eraniel, and Velavancode Districts between the Shanars and Nairs, originating in a pretension of the women of the Shanars to wear the upper–cloth contrary to orders and ancient customs, and in a refusal of that caste to

41 Samuel Mateer. *Land of Charity*, pp. 279–80.
42 C. M. Agur, *op cit.*, p. 842.

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perform the Sirkar Ooliam work required of them in common with other inhabitants. I deem it proper to publish the following Proclamation.

"As it is not reasonable on the part of the Shanar women to wear clothes over their breasts, such custom being prohibited, they are required to abstain in future from covering the upper part of their body. An order had been issued on the 7th Edavam 989 to all places prohibiting the Shanar women of the families of such Shanars as may have embraced Christianity from wearing clothes over their breasts, and requiring them to substitute for these the Kupayam (a kind of shortbodice used by other Christians) but with regard to their (Shanars') allegation as an authority for wearing clothes over their breasts, that a decree had been passed subsequently by Law Court permitting the Shanar women on the contrary the use of clothes on the upper part of their body, such a decision since if it be admitted as establishing a rule, it would be in direct contravention of the order alluded to, cannot but be considered as invalid. Therefore the order referred to is hereby re-published to be held as a document in this respect."[43]

This proclamation not only put numerous restrictions on the dress worn by the Christian women, but also to the building of places of worship, ūḻiyam works etc. The proclamation required that the Christians should do ūḻiyam services for the government like other sections of the population, excepting on Sundays.[44] It also warned the converts that they should not be permitted to act towards persons of privileged classes contrary to the customs of their own castes,–before their conversion. This proclamation also prohibited the erection of places of worship without the permission of the Travancore Government. Lastly, it directed the Christians to complain to the government, instead of complaining to the missionaries. "As it appears of late certain Shanars and others of the same caste who have embraced Christianity proving refractory to the Sirkar authorities, make it a prctice to prefer their complaints irregularly elsewhere. It is now notified that as there

43 *Directorate of State Archives*, See document No. V (Malayalam)

44 *Ibid.*

are no other tribunals in this country besides those appointed by us, whenever any person or persons of whatever caste and religion may have any just grievances or complaints to be represented they shall prefer the same to the Sirkar officers, whose duty it will then be to afford the parties redress, and in the event of such grievance or complaint not being redressed by those officers, the parties shall prefer the same to the Courts, and eventually if necessary to ourself, since the tribunals are bound to treat all the inhabitants alike."[45]

The proclamation was intended and chiefly directed against Christian freedom and growth. Rev. Mead observed: "........... requiring permission in future for the erection of places of worship is interpreted to mean that, no more Christian temples are to be built, and that those commenced are not to be finished." The impact of the proclamation was that "the people are prohibited from working at the Mission building. Public worship is sometimes interrupted by the Sudras assembling to seize the Christians for Ooliam on the Sunday. Several schools have been deserted. Many of the Christians being still sought for, they were obliged to abandon their fields and gardens and live in the mountains"[46]

Appeal Court Judges Kāḷi Cempaka Raman, Mukunda Aiyan and others, who were ordered by Col. Morrison, the Resident, to proceed to the South, reached Padmanābhapuram on the 10th February. Venkaṭṭa Row, the Dewan, who enquired about the affray, gave personal instructions to the Appellate Judges in their special enquiries. The Christians refused to admit the charges falsely framed against them by the caste Hindus. The Court refused the request of Rev. Mead that his assistant Rev. Ashton might sit with them and see the depositions and evidences were correctly written. The caste Hindus objected to this privilege and on that basis the request was not granted. Charges of murder were framed against fourteen Christians and several others as abettors. The witnesses were freely supplied by the Tahsildar and other local officials.[47]

45 *Ibid.*

46 C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, pp. 845–46,

47 *Ibid.*, p. 846.

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The prisoners were chained two and two together and their l[egs] were dreadfully swollen by the irons. When Mead represented [the] matter, the officials replied that "the irons were insufficient [to] chain the offenders separately."[48] They were also not allowed [to] engage a pleader during their trial. When Rev. Mead brought this to the notice of the government they replied that, "It is no[t] usual for persons who are accused of murder to be allowed a Vakil at their trial. They have not applied; but unless those persons who are accused of murder and other criminal charges give their depositions themselves, it is inconsistent with the rules of the Court to allow any of them to appoint a Vakil at their trial". The treatment given to them in the Court and prison was inhuman. "Those charged separately in the official report with murder and assault have been all equally flogged with a rattan, and two days after were paraded through the village of Autoor with a tom-tom stating that they were to be taken to hard labour for two years and then brought back to the prison to pass another ordeal for other charges brought against them. We cannot but hope for the sake of justice and humanity that some stop will soon be put to such systematic cruelty. It cannot but excite astonishment that such proceedings should be allowed to take place where Christianity is professedly tolerated, and the forms of justice observed". Many of them, that were falsely accused were chained and thrown into prison. Shortly afterwards they were taken to the Central Prison at Quilon where they were to carry sand (Penal Servitude)".[50]

The victorious caste Hindus continued their oppressions on the socially backward classes. They extended the terror to other parts of Nāñcināḍ also. Several innocent Christians were seized from these areas and set at liberty after being put in prison for some days with a warning that "these outrages should not be repeated". The caste Hindus took advantage of their unprotected condition and humiliated them. They were watched and treated as traitors and rebels. The continuous persecutions and confinement of several Christians, their tears and sufferings disheartened Rev. Mead, who

48 C. M. Agur, *Ibid.*, p. 847.
49 *Ibid.*,
50 Rev. Charles Mead, Report to the L. M. S., quoted by C. M. Agur, *Ibid.*, p. 849.

[w]rote voluminous letters and fought hard with his pen for the [re]lease of the Christians in prison. He pleaded with the govern[m]ent for the release of the Christians in the following pathetic [m]anner: "I entreat in consideration of the long imprisonment of [the] Christians (nearly six months), the loss of their property, the [di]stress of their families, the undoubted innocence of those charged [wi]th murder, the utter improbability of the guilt of others, the age [an]d situation in life of some of the parties, the shame which they [ha]ve already endured and the unfair proceedings of the Courts [wh]ich gave them no opportunity of defending their character. His Highness the Rajah may be pleased to release them, or to remit at [le]ast that part of the sentence requiring labour to be performed on the public roads, as this would in some measure remove the disgrace and danger now attached to a reception of Christianity by the Natives of Travancore".[51] He also appealed to the British Government to interpose and prevent further calamities to the unprotected and injured. As a result of his appeals Lt. Col. E. Cadogan, the Resident, released the Christians.[52]

The period of the revolt was one of severe trial for the [m]issionaries and Christians of South Travancore. Rev. Mead [s]howed undaunted courage and fortitude in the course of the [re]volt. He brought safety and honour to the Christians under [al]l these trials and afflictions. The effect of this revolt on the progress of Christianity was described by him in the following words: "In South Travancore, where the progress of the Gospel [ha]d, for sometime, been much more rapid and more extensive than at any other of the Society's stations in the Peninsula, the [s]pirit of persecution has recently manifested itself with extra[or]dinary violence; but though much alarm has been excited, and on the part of some of the Native Christians no small measure of suffering endured, and notwithstanding many yielding to intimi[d]ation have withdrawn themselve from the means of grace and [in]struction, yet there is reason to hope that the cause of Christianity

51 Rev. Charles Mead, Letter to the Maharajah of Travancore, Quoted by C.M. Agur, *Ibid.*, p. 850.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 851.

will be eventually a gainer, as indeed, it usually is, when reco is had to such means to counter act to influence or retard triumphs."[53]

When Col. Morrison answered the queries of Ja Lushington, Private Secretary, Fort St. George, in 1830 regard the administrative system of Travancore and whether the Co pany's interference in the internal government and defence of country should be terminated, this outbreak was probably in mind. He stated: "If the inhabitants are deprived of our pro tion they would soon again feel the tyranny of their own Gove ment......and we should lose the confidence of a million people instead of attaching them to us, as they certainly are present. The poor Ryot, who can now boast to the Sirk officer — 'You cannot now cut off my nose or arms — Company is my security' — would no longer owe us allegian To withdraw then the British interference and troops would hailed with joy only by the officers of Revenue, Justice & co, a by the interested individuals near the Rajah's person, but th measure would be felt by the mass of the people as the heavi calamity.

"The affairs of the country for many years have be conducted, comparatively speaking, by new rules and by functio aries with new names, many of the old rules being obsolete forgotten. If our interference ceases, there would soon be su a mixture of the new and old as would lead to confusion, whi might not have occured if we had left matters as we found the on the death of the late Rajah in the year 1811......"[54]

The proclamation of 3rd February 1829 eased the situatio for the time being, but it failed to deter the Christian women fro dressing in the manner of the caste Hindu women, as ha become their custom.[55] The Hindu Nāḍār women following th examples set by Christian Nāḍārs began to cover their bosom

53 Quoted by C. M. Agur, *Ibid.*, pp. 855–56.
54 Pol. Cons. 23 July 1830, No. 16.
55 Letter from E. Lewis to the Resident dated Śāntapura January 21, 1859. English Records (See Document No. XX

and wear upper-clothes and move about in the streets like the women of the caste Hindus.[56] It is true, those Nāḍāns, who were chieftains from very ancient times enjoyed special privileges and their women used upper garments without opposition from the caste Hindus. But when those Nāḍār women, who were financially poor and backward in all respects, began to wear upper-garments, it irritated the Nāḍāns and caste Hindus. The Agastīsvaram Nāḍān, a rich chieftain who enjoyed special benefits from the Rajah declared that Nāḍān women alone had the right to wear upper-clothes and all other women being Shanar women, belonged to lower classes and had no right to wear upper-clothes.[57] Amidst much opposition, internal and external, the Nāḍār women in large numbers moved about in the streets, markets and fairs wearing upper-clothes.

The revolt of 1828 sowed the seeds of the revolt of 1858-59. Although the women of socially backward classes were prohibited from wearing upper-clothes over their bosoms by the proclamation of 1829, Nāḍārs moved about wearing it in public and the number of those who used instead of decreasing, increased.[58] In the eyes of the caste Hindus the missionaries were responsible for the increased use of upper clothes which had become the symbol of change in South Travancore.

The proclamation of 1829 had permitted the Christian women of Nāḍār and such other socially backward classes to wear the jacket to cover the upper parts of their bodies. With the passage of time the caste Hindus turned against this reform also. They actually wanted to prohibit entirely the covering of the bosoms of women. They wanted to see the women walking through the streets and in their presence with uncovered breasts.[59]

56 *Ibid.*, Letter from Shungoony Menon, Deputy Peishkar in-charge of the Southern Districts to the Dewan T. Madhava Row dated January 3, 1859. (See Docment No. VIII)
57 Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 63
58 Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, pp. 504–5
59 Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident dated Neyyūr, January 10, 1859 English Records (See Document No. XIII)

Rev. Baylis wrote that the Christian women were "troubled by the Sudras for wearing only the jacket, which is allowed by the Proclamation, over the upper-part of their bodies and several have had such jackets torn from them by force and it is perfectly useless to complain."[60] So also, the caste Hindus alleged that the Nāḍārs used coloured clothes, and the practice was against custom and traditions.[61] With regard to this Rev. Baylis pointed out "The great body of the Christian converts have not commenced to wear any new style of dress....I am informed that it has always been the custom for the more respectable Christian women to wear any coloured clothes that they are able to buy. But I do not know that the wearing of a coloured cloth, if not as an upper cloth, is forbidden by any proclamation."[62] Further John Cox of the Trivandrum Mission wrote: "None of the women connected with my Mission have ever worn the upper-cloth, or transgressed the Sirkar regulations concerning dress. But notwithstanding this and every other precaution which has been taken to avoid offence several assaults have been committed on individual Christian women and their jackets forcibly torn off and some Christian men also assaulted."[63]

In the light of the above evidences it can be concluded that in the beginning of the revolt of 1858–59 also the caste Hindus were against women of backward classes wearing any clothes over their bosoms. The privileged classes wanted to push back these women, who began to think of civilisation and progress, to that dark period, which existed before the arrival of the British in Travancore. When the revolt of 1858–59 started and spread to all parts of South Travancore Rev. Baylis requested the government to issue a proclamation "allowing the people of all castes to dress in the manner in which most suits their own tastes and convenience, and thus the present barbarous system, so unworthy of a Government which professes to he enlightened, which com-

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.*, Letter from Shungoony Menon to T. Madhava Row dated January 3, 1859 (See Document No. VIII)

62 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident dated Neyyūr, January 10, 1859. (See Document No. XIII)

63 *Ibid.*, Letter from John Cox to the Reside… Trivandrum, January 21, 1858. (See Document …

…portion of the women of the country to go about half-naked, inorder to hamper the pride and prejudice of another class, may be for ever done away."[64]

Christianity threatened the tradition of Travancore and each Christian posed a seditious threat to its government. The antagonism of the caste Hindus against their social innovation and prosperity was heightened with the abolition of slavery in Travancore.[65]

The Resident of Travancore, General Cullen, at this time began to receive a number of petitions from Hindu Nāḍārs who were very anxious to wear breast clothes following their Christian brethren. The British Government declined to intervene, as the matter was one of local caste usage.[66] But the missionaries were in favour of British interference in the affairs of Travancore. Rev. Baylis wrote: "I confess, I see little hope of the Sirkar being willing to allow the women of the Shanar, and such castes, the privilege of dressing decently by covering their breasts, unless constrained by the interference of the British Government:, and I confess too that I long to see that Government to interfere."[67] Gen. Cullen was against innovations in the existing system and suspected the missionaries of attempting to unsettle the existing political arrangements in the Native State of Travancore.[68] On the contrary, the missionaries believed that Gen. Cullen was the enemy of the Church in Travancore and the opponent of Christians' aspirations to higher status. Gen. Cullen firmly believed that the Christians and missionaries were responsible for the adoption of upper-clothes by Hindu Nāḍārs. The missionaries

64 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident dated January 10, 1858. (See Document No. XIII).

65 Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

66 Copies of Official Papers......, Letter from the Resident of Travancore to the Chief Secretary to the Government dated January 13, 1859. (See Document No. XV)

67 Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident dated Neyyūr, January 10, 1859 English Records. (See Document No. XIII)

68 *Ibid.*, Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore dated Trivandrum; January, 1859. (See Document No. XI)

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denied this allegation on the ground that the same class of p[eople] in Tinnevelly used the upper-clothes freely. No restri[ction] existed there with regard to dress. The adoption of up[per-] clothes by the Nāḍārs of Travancore was the consequence of seasonal migration to Tinnevelly in search of employment, w[here] all women without molestation used the upper-clothes.69 On Tinnevelly borders of Travancore the wearing of the upper-c[loth] had become the rule and not the exception.70

The work of the missionaries for the liberation of sla[ves] created resentment among the Hindus. The missionaries, March 1847 presented a memorandum to the Maharajah to t[ake] immediate steps for the amelioration of slaves.71 The Ma[ha]rajah consented to the "manumission of the Sirkar slaves by unconditional abolition, from the first day of the year M. E. 10[..] of the tax which had therefore been levied on their account fr[om] their possessors or masters, who being thus released from t[he] obligation of having the customary impost would no longer ha[ve] a right to servile labour, and the slaves would be virtually free." But at the same time "the feeling of both the Sirkars (Travanc[ore] and Cochin) are very much against the emancipation, at prese[nt] of the children of private slaves, and they apprehend that t[he] measure would cause loss as well as great anxiety and alar[m] amongst private proprietors as to the ulterior design of t[he] Government."73 They feared that the abolition of slavery wou[ld] tend to the ruin of agriculture and so the matter was l[eft] in abeyance for sometime.74 Against the wishes of the Raj[ah] and the caste Hindus the slaves were liberated. This caus[ed]

69 *Ibid.*, Letter from E. Lewis to the Resident dated Śānt[...] puram, January 21, 1857. (See Documents No. XX)

70 Petition of the L. M. S. Missionaries to His Highness th[e] Rajah of Travancore dated February 7, 1859. (See Docume[nts] No. XXIX).

71 Memorandum of the Missionaries to H. H. The Maharaj[ah] of Travancore dated March 19, 1847. English Records (Se[e] Document No. I

72 Pol. Cons., 5th April 1855, No. 32–33.

73 *Ibid.*

74 Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

[su]ch irritation and uneasiness in their minds against the mission-[ari]es and their converts.

The Hindu Nāḍārs played only a minor role in the first two [st]ages of the revolt. After the revolt of 1828–30, a great refor-[ma]tion took place amidst them. That was due to the influence [of] Christianity and the teachings of a man by name Muttukuṭṭy [a] poor palmyra climber. He claimed that he was an incarnation [of] Viṣṇu and possessed miraculous powers, according to the [na]tives.75 He enjoyed the support of thousands of followers. He [a]dvised his followers to put a stop to working for the caste Hindus without just pay and submitting to them helplessly, and [t]o assume the costume of the privileged classes. He organised a society by name *Samattva Samācam*, or Society to Establish Equality for the welfare of his community, the spread of his doctorines and to unite the community. He taught them to move fearlessly and fight oppression. He imparted to them the ideals of equality and freedom and reminded them of their old privileges as a leading community. He said to them that by imposing taxes and denying rights the Rajahs made them a servile class. As a result of these teachings the people organised together to fight for their just rights. He neither attacked Christianity nor the missionaries. This great leader of the Nāḍārs was poisoned by caste Hindus who feared the spread of his cult and the unity of the Nāḍārs.76 Before the final stage of the revolt in 1858, both the Hindu and Christian Nāḍārs united together in opinion and sentiment, irrespective of their religions. The Hindu Nāḍārs wanted the right for their women to cover their bosoms with an

75 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 222

76 Interview with Krishna Nama Moni, the Chief Priest of the Muttukuṭṭy Swami Temple, Swami Tōpe, a place 5 miles south of Nagercoil and near Agastīśvaram, now in Tamilnad. A temple is there dedicated to him. Several patients stay in this temple for the miraculous cure of their diseases. The local people believe that the spirit of Muttukuṭṭy Swami can cure any disease. A well is also connected with it, which the natives believe has some peculiar taste and power to cure diseases. I used that water when I visited the place for further enquiries and felt a different taste, not the taste of pure water.

upper–cloth, which was a prestige, and the Christians wanted complete abolition of all restrictions relating to dress.[77] In letter to the Dewan T. Madhava Row, the Deputy Peish Shungoony Menon wrote: "The Christian Shanars having com enced to wear coloured clothes and vests (Rowkeys) like those wo by Brahmin and Vellalar women &c., contrary to the principle their own creed and the longstanding usage of the country, Hindoo Shanars also seen disposed, by imitating the example th set, to deviate from usage, and after mutual consultation the women have commenced to wear upper–clothes on their bodies.

"The Shanar women wearing different kinds of cloth like th Shoodras and other high caste people, and frequenting the publ roads, cannot be distinguished as Shanars: Hence the presen dissensions between the Shanars and Shoodras &c., the Christia Shanars.........the original cuase."[78]

The strained feelings between the Christian missionaries an the government, the grudge of the socially backward class against the caste Hindus, and the prejudices of the privileged class against the unprivileged classes severally grew worse. The soci economic, cultural and political frustrations of the caste Hind land owners were directed against the pretensions of the Nādār and the wearing of breast–clothes by their women. "The agita tion has been recently revived" Gen. Cullen wrote to the Chi Secretary to the Government of Madras, "the Soodras asserting that the Shanar women are constantly assuming the privilege o covering the upper part of the person, and thereby preventing a recognition of the caste."[79]

77 Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 527.

78 Letter from Shungoony Menon to the Dewan of Travancore English Records (See Document No. VIII) The statement that the Christian Nāḍār incited their Hindu brethren to revolt for the right of their women to wear upper-clothes was refuted by the missionaries. (See Document No. XXIX).

79 Copies of Official Papers......, Letter from General Cullen to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras dated January 13, 1859 (See Document No. XV)

Indications of general ill–feeling of the caste Hindus towards the Christians became more marked from October 1858. Several quarrels and disturbances took place between the parties in the markets and thoroughfares.[80] Christian women were "troubled by the Sudras in the markets &c., for wearing only the jacket which is allowed by the proclamation over the upper part of their bodies and several have had such jackets torn from them by force."[81] A Christian woman was assaulted in the public market at Neyyattinkara and her jacket was forcibly stripped. The case was proved in the Court, yet the offender was let off with so slight a punishment—a mere fine—that he soon afterwards committed several similar crimes.[82] In November 1858 another woman was assaulted and her jacket torn in the public market at Arumānūr, in the Neyyattinkara Taluk, about 18 miles south of Trivandrum, at the instigation of Kumāra Piḷḷai of Pālōḍu house, Arumānūr, a government employ, the Superintendent of the salt store at Puvār, 2 miles south of Arumānūr.[83] These outrages created a sense of insecurity and a feeling of threat in the minds of the Christian and Hindu Nāḍārs. Next, the Śūdras declared that an order had been issued by the government to strip the women of their jackets. With the proclamation of the Queen of England in November 1858 on the assumption of the Direct Government of India, the feelings of both the communities reached the climax: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observance, but that shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the Law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from

80 Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 508

81 Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident dated January 10, 1859. English Records. (See Document No. XIII)

82 J. A. Jacob, *History of the L.M.S.* (Manuscript) pp. 118-121; Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 298.

83 Letter from John Cox to the Resident dated Trivandrum, January 21, 1859. English Records (See Document No. XIX)

all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of ... subjects on pain of our highest displeasure."[84] Reports w... circulated to the effect that Lord Harris, the Governor of Mad... Presidency, had given over the entire management of the kingd... of Travancore into the hands of the Rajah and that, consequen... "the Rajah would not tolerate Christianity in his territory, a... that the Sudras and others would be unchecked in any oppositi... they might show to Christianity."[85]

The proclamation of the Queen left a lasting scar on th... communities. "The Shanars imagined that it permitted them t... infringe existing rules; while the Sudras equally considered it a... sanctioning their taking the law into their own hands to repre... what they took as an aggression into their caste domains. Seriou... affrays ensued, and these are aggravated by the gratuitous inter... ference of the petty Sirkar officials."[86] In a letter to Gen. Cullen... James Russel, a missionary of the L.M.S stated: "……ever sinc... the reading of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Proclamation, th... Soodras have taken it into their heads that they are at liberty to... do whatever they like with the lower classes……They have begun... to close the bazars, and will only sell to such persons as they... please."[87] It was "universally interpreted by the natives as a... declaration in favour of custom and caste, against proselytism in... every shape. The purpose of it is supposed to be—Christianity... for the Queen and English alone, Hindooism for the Hindoos." ... The caste Hindus openly began to attack the women who dared... to appear in public with their bosoms covered. The Nāḍār... women without considering the dangers involved in their venture... appeared with their bosoms covered with jackets and upper-clothes... and were violently attacked by the caste Hindus. The united...

84 Quoted by Donald E. Smith, *India as a Secular State*, (Princeton, 1963), pp. 71–72.
85 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 299.
86 A Native Statesman, *Calcutta Review*, October 1872, Quoted by Nagam Aiya, *op, cit.*, Vol. I, p. 526.
87 *Annual Report of the Travancore District Committee* (L.M.S) for the year 1859 (Negercoil, 1860) p. 2.
88 Letter from Robert Caldwell to Rev. Whitehouse dated Nagercoil February 5, 1859. Quoted by Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65.

...nt of the Christian and Hindu Nāḍārs retaliated the out-rages ...hough the caste Hindus formed the majority the Nāḍārs ...ermined to fight to the last.[89]

When there prevailed such ill-feelings and severe tension ...ween the parties Dewan Madhava Row paid a visit to the ...thern districts. The Nāḍārs waited on the Dewan at Padma-...bhapuram to present their complaints.[90] But they were beaten ...the government officials "almost in his presence, and the only ...ime they had committed was trying to get their petitions to ...m."[91] The petitioners were unceremoniously dismissed. They ...esented their hard experiences before the missionaries after their ...d return: "Some of us told him (the Dewan) that we would ...come Mahomedans, but we were told that, whatever religion we ...ined we shall not be allowed to wear the upper-cloth, others ...id that they could not endure the present wrongs under which ...they were suffering and that unless those wrongs were redressed ...they must remove into Tinnevelly where there is liberty and justice, ...nd they were told to go there if they chose."[92] They further ...added: "All the Government officers being high caste men are in ...league with the Sudras against us, consequently we have not the ...least chance of being heard in our own defence. There is not a Government officer from the Dewan to the peon that feels inclined to aid us or to speak a word in our behalf."[93] His visit only helped to aggravate the situation.

Madhava Row observed "the unsatisfactory feelings prevailed between the Shanars, and the Sudras and such other caste people in consequence of attempts made by Shanar women to wear a costume not authorised by existing customs and rules."[94] He feared that these bitter feelings have a possibility to lead to

89 Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 526.
90 Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident, English Record. (See Document No. VII).
91 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident dated January 10, 1859. (See Document No. XIII)
92 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. Ebenezer Lewis to the Resident dated Śāntapuram, January 21, 1859. (See Document No. XX).
93 *Ibid.*,
94 *Ibid.*, Letter from the Dewan to the Resident of Travancore dated Trivandrum, January 5, 1859. (See Document No. X)

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breaches of the peace in markets and such other places of public resort.[95] Finding it very difficult to prevent a collision between the two groups, he issued a proclamation in December 27, 1858 as a precautionary measure, "requiring the Shanars to adhere to the usage hitherto observed by their women of not covering their body with an upper-cloth like the Shoodra women; and the Shoodras to abstain from any proceedings on their own part that may lead to a breach of the peace, if the Shanars should ever be found to act contrary to usage, but to represent the circumstances to the authorities; with a view to prevent any collision between themselves (the Shoodras) and other high caste people on the one part and the Shanars on the other."[96] The proclamation also warned the Nāḍārs of severe punishments on violation of the established customs and practices. "It has been brought to the notice of the Sirkar that some Shanar women have begun to wear upper clothes in a fashion different from that hitherto customary and that this gives occasion to quarrels between Shanars, and Sudras and other high caste people. If any modifications be desired of long established usages, the proper course would be to represent the matter to the Sirkar and abide by its decision. But conduct in violation of old usages is not proper, and is punishable. This the Shanars should bear in mind, and shape their conduct accordingly.

"Should any Shanars conduct themselves irregularly, such should be duly reported to the Sirkar. But Sudras and others should not themselves resist so as to cause any breach of the peace. Those that act otherwise will also be liable to punishment."[97]

The tenor of the Proclamation was that, it was clearly wrong to violate ancient customs: the law laid down for the observance of the parties concerned by a royal proclamation in the year 1829 should be respected; whoever infringed the law would be liable to severe punishment, Nāḍārs were to bear the same in

95 *Ibid.*
96 *Ibid.*, Letter from Shungoony Menon to the Dewan of Travancore. (See Document No. VIII)
97 *Ibid.*, Proclamation issued by the Dewan of Travancore dated December 27, 1858. (See Document No. VI)

mind and act accordingly; Śūdras and people of privileged classes were to do anything themselves against the Nāḍārs and cause a breach of the peace and should they commit anything contrary to the law, due notice would be taken of their conduct.[98] Shungoony Menon requested the Dewan "to maintain the authority of the Sirkar by bringing to condign punishment", parties opposing the proclamation. He stated: "When the disloyal conduct of the Christian Shanars is properly dealth with, the Hindoo Shanars would behave themselves as they ought to do."[99] He also requested the Dewan to re-publish the proclamation of 1829, "lest the Christian Shanars plead ignorance of the same and the Missionaries support them in such excuses."[100] In his report he presented to the Resident of Travancore on the origin, progress and suppression of the revolt, the Dewan stated with reference to the proclamation issued on 27th December 1858 thus: "The Shanars, both Hindu and Christian, are bound to conform to its provisions: that no section of subjects can be permitted to infringe a law affecting the great majority of the people on the ground that, in their opinion, the law ought to be changed; that only the legitimate course open to them is to continue to submit to it and formally to apply to the Sirkar for a change with such facts and arguments as they may have to urge in their favour. On these considerations a public warning was given on the 27th of December last to the effect; the existing rules and usages should be respected; that if any class of people desired a change they should represent the case to the Sirkar and await its decision, that on the other hand on no account should breaches of the peace be caused."[101] The Christians and the missionaries considered this proclamation of the Dewan as a proof of his "gross and unconcealed partiality."[102] The missionaries therefore

98 Shungoony Menon, *History of Travancore*, p. 509,
99 Letter from Shungoony Menon to the Dewan of Travancore dated January 3, 1859. *English Records*: (See Document No. VIII)
100 *Ibid.*
101 *Ibid*, The Dewan's Report to the Resident of Travancore dated February 12, 1859. (See Document No. XXXII)
102 Shungoony Menon, *History of Travancore*, p. 509

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petitioned to the Maharajah to cancel the proclamation of the Dewan, the circular order of May 1814 and the proclamation of February 1829.

The proclamation of the Dewan poured oil on the fire. The already kindled fire spread violently. Shungoony Menon in his letter to the Dewan dated January 3, 1859 wrote: "The Shoodras and other highcaste people act in perfect obedience to the require-ments of the Proclamation: but that the Shanars have been setting it at defiance, and that it is their intention to assemble in a multitude and create disturbances, in the event of any instance of proceedings on their part that may be opposed to the terms of the proclamation, being taken cognizance of and met by the local Tahsildars with due punishment according to the tenor of the Proclamation. I am afraid that unless an immediate remedy be applied, the disloyal conduct of the Shanars would grow in dimensions and tend to disturb the public peace."[103]

The government officials played a most important role in attacking the Nāḍār women. An official came to the Kaḷiyikka-viḷa market near Pāraśśāla, now in the Trivandrum District, and declared that he was empowered with the authority to insult and to strip the breast–clothes and jackets of the Nāḍār women, and acted accordingly. His example was followed by other caste Hindus. In the struggle that followed between the Nāḍārs and the caste Hindus in the Pāraśśala Mission district three chapels and three smaller places of worship were set on fire and destroyed. The struggle in Pāraśśāla lasted for twenty days and spread to other places.[104]

In Neyyūr district the revolt started with the inhuman behaviour of the Police Sargeant of Iraṇiyal. He, with his caste

103 Letter from Shungoony Menon to the Dewan dated Tri-vandrum, January 3, 1859. English Records. (See Document No. VIII)

104 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 299. When the People's Revolt of 1858–59 broke out there were five Mission Districts in South Travancore. They were Neyyūr, Nagercoil, Pāraśśāla, Trivandrum and Quilon. Each Mission District was under the control of one or two of the Missionaries of the L. M. S.

Hindu followers beat many men and women, plundered their goods, money and jewels, and then bound a number of Nāḍārs and took them to prison. It started with the appearance in markets and streets of Nāḍār women with jackets and upper-clothes. Acts of violence in Neyyūr continued for many days. Three churches and one school were burnt down. The miscre-ants were not given the deserved punishment.[105] "The panic, it seems, was great and men on both sides were said to have been severely ill-treated, and some wounded, though only a few appeared before the Cutcherry with formal complaints. . . . ."[106]

Nagercoil also witnessed the rage of the caste Hindus. On 4th January 1859 above 200 caste Hindus led by Vydiyaliñgam Piḷḷai, Nīlam Piḷḷai, Tēṅgāra Piḷḷai, Mādēvan Piḷḷai and Cīni Piḷḷai of the Maramat Department, armed with clubs and knives, entered the houses of the Christians and attacked them.[107] They stripped the jackets of women, tore their clothes and cruelly beat them. When the caste Hindus planned to destroy the Nagercoil church it was closed.[108] The Christians of Nagercoil collected together in the church and decided to protect it. They guarded the chapel day and night against the incendiaries.

The outbreak at Kōṭṭār was the most severe after the issue of the proclamation of December 27, 1858. A large mob of Nāḍārs under the leadership of Cinna Nāḍān marched to Kōṭṭār and forcibly took away tobacco and money from Māṇikkavā-sagom, Subramonyan and other merchants. In his letter to the Dewan dated January 4, 1859 Deputy Peishkar–in–charge of Southern districts stated: "Shinanadyan and other Shanars of Puthukudiyirippoo assembled in a large mob, repaired to the petty shops on the western side of the Tobacco Bank shall at Kottar at about 10 O' clock p. m., forcibly took away tobacco and money from the shops of Manikavasakam, Subramonyan and others, and attempted to pull down the shops by seizing and

105 *Ibid.*, pp. 300–301.

106 The Report of the Dewan to the Resident dated February 12, 1859. English Records. (See document No. XXXII)

107 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. James Russel to the Resident of Travancore. (See Document No. XXIII)

108 *Ibid.*

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shaking the lower parts of the roof: that the Shanars, consisting of 350 armed men are moving about with the evident object of resorting to violence; and that the merchants of Kottar have from a panic, shut up their shops and put a stop to the trade in the bazar."[109]

When Shungoony Menon reported the Koṭṭār riot to the Dewan and asked for a detachment of Sepoys to assist him orders were forthwith given. Accordingly a detachment of the Nair Brigade consisting of hundred men with the usual complement of commissioned and non-commissioned officers was sent at once to Nāñcināḍ.[110] Troops were moved where mischief was apprehended. Police force was strengthened in the places in which disturbances started. Auxiliary police officers were appointed to keep peace and order.[111] The Resident General Cullen firmly stated: "No attempts to effect by open force any change in the existing rules or usages can for a moment be permitted, and I hope the leaders in the late riotous proceedings may be apprehended, and committed for trial."[112] The presence of the military and police officials in Nāñcināḍ created havoc in the minds of the Nāḍārs, who with renewed energy began to attack and resist the outrages of the caste Hindus.

On 7th January 1859 above 500 Śūdras armed with clubs, swords etc., and under the leadership of government officials came to Kumārapuram, a place near Nagercoil, in search of the Christians there. They forcibly entered the houses of the Christians, broke and pillaged the furniture, dragged the women out of doors almost naked, tearing their clothes and jackets and committed the most obscene deeds which are easier to be imagined than

109 *Ibid.*, Letter from Shungoony Menon to the Dewan of Travancore dated January 4, 1859. (See Document No. IX)

110 *Ibid.*, Report of the Dewan to the Resident dated February 12, 1859. (See Document No. XXXII)

111 *Ibid.*

112 *Ibid.*. Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore dated Trivandrum, January 6, 1859. (See Document No. XI)

...be described"[113] One catechist, Pākyanādhan of Aḷagappa-...ram, who happened to be there on a visit to his deceased ...ther-in-law, was seized, cruelly beaten, and sent into confine-...nt. He bled through his nostrils.[114] The Christians of ...uvamoḷi and Cempanviḷa experienced the same kind of ...atment.[115]

On the 8th January 1859 about 100 caste Hindus under the ...dership of Taṇḍa Muttu Piḷḷai and Sipukōttan of Mailkara, ...u Malaya Peruma Piḷḷai and Cidambara Piḷḷai of Aḷagiya–...dyapuram, and Nārāyaṇa Piḷḷai af Poḷiyūr came to Cempan-...ḷa, in the Nagercoil mission district, and made an assault on the ...ristians there. The catechist and family when they heard the ...und of the tumult, escaped stealthly. The caste Hindus pulled ...wn the house of the catechist, pillaged the furniture, tore the ...oks and stole the jewels, which belonged to the catechist and ...ristians. They also beat up the school-master there. On the ...nth the same group entered the chapel at Kaḍuputtūr, in the ...gercoil mission district, at the time of worship, drove out the ...techist and congregation, tore the holy books to pieces and ...cked the chapel.[116]

On the same day about 50 Śūdras of Āruvamoḷi armed with ...apons crowded before the chapel there and ordered the women to remove their jackets. The women refused. Thereafter the ...uriated Śūdras abused and beat them up and stripped their ...othes. They forced the Christians to close the chapel.[117]

The revolt spread to almost all parts of South Travancore by ...nuary 10, 1859 and there was severe persecution of the lower ...ders. A number of caste Hindus joined together and with the ...sistance of the police tied up a number of Nāḍārs including ...hristians, who were pursuing their ordinary avocations in the ...onday Market near Neyyūr. The captives were presented before

...13 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. James Russel to the Resident of Travancore (See Document No. XXIII)

...14 *Ibid.*

...15 *Ibid.*

...16 *Ibid.*

...17 *Ibid.*

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charges were made again... the Iraniyal Tana Naick and false ... stolen articles from th... them that they had "come in crowds and ... the jackets of women an... Cetties".[118] The caste Hindus stripped ... to a near-by villag... abused them.[119] After this they marched ... of Christian people an... Vadakkankara, and damaged the houses ... same day the chap... beat some of them. On the night of the ... mob of caste Hindu... there (Vadakkankara) was burnt down by a ... threatened to burn... The Hindus of Medalam and their leaders ... Dēviyōḍu and othe... down the large chapels of the Mission at ... Christian centres.[120]

About 50 caste Hindus of Arumanallūr under the command... of Ānanda Piḷḷai, Sivarāmakrishna Piḷḷai and Nāger Piḷḷai... proceeded to Kollenturutty and asked the catechist of the church... to abstain from preaching the gospel. Another party, about 30... in number, from Ceramāḍam in Kuḻittura, a place about 34... miles south of Trivandrum, ordered the Christians of Paḷḷiyāḍi... and Kalluvantiḍil to close the churches. They were forced to do... ūḻiyam on Sundays and to work as slaves, as was usual before the... amelioration of slaves. Besides this, the caste Hindus also forced... the school girls at Kalluvantiḍil, while in school, to remove their... jackets, and tore their books.[121] The privileged classes of Mylady... headed by Śivasubramaṇya Piḷḷai, Mūtta Piḷḷai and Bhūtaliṅga... Āśāri drove the catechist of the Mylady church and his wife from... the place. They abused and insulted the women of Mylady, who... were on their way to the river for bringing water.[122]

On January 11, 1859 two women, when on their way to... Āṛālummūḍu market, near Neyyattinkarā, in the Trivandrum... district, were assaulted by Sirkar peons. The women were take...

118 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. Frederick Baylis to the Reside... dated Neyyūr, January 1859. (See Document No. XIV)

119 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident ... Travancore dated January 17, 1859 (See Docume... No. XVII)

120 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident ... Travancore dated Neyyūr, January 11, 1859. (See Docu... ment No. XIV)

121 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. James Russel to the Resident. (S... Document No. XXIII)

122 *Ibid.*

...efore the Tana Naick of Neyyattinkara, who violently stripped ...e jacket of one of them and hung it on a tree. In the same week ...e wife of one of the Readers in the church of Rev. John Cox, a ...issionary of the L. M. S. Trivandrum, was assaulted by a ...ahommedan and her jacket violently removed and hung upon ...tree "with loud shouts of threats."[123]

The Śūdras and Ceṭṭies on the 13th January 1859 under the ...dership of the Tana Naick of Kuḻittura assembled together ...ar the Kaḷiyikkāviḷa market near Pāraśśāla, and ill-used the ...ople, both men and women of the Nāḍār and other lower ...stes. A man named Sebastiyan was assaulted and his clothes ...d hand kerchief plucked from him. They were torn and hung ...p on a tree by the roadside.[124]

On the 14th January 1859 the caste Hindus in large numbers ...oceeded to Tittuviḻa and Anḍitōppu under the leadership of ...hutanādha Piḷḷai, Mādēvan Piḷḷai, Vaḷḷimai Piḷḷai, Vaidya...ṅgam Piḷḷai and Nīlan Piḷḷai of Talakkuḍy and marched against ...e catechist and school-master, broke the doors of the houses of ...hristians, pulled off the roofs and plundered the furniture and ...wels of women.[125] A Nāḍār and his wife were assaulted, his ...use and twenty seven other houses were burnt down. Seventy-...e houses of Romanists at Kōṭṭāṟ were also burnt down.[126]

The lawless and uncontrolled mobs actually ruled the markets, ...ds and villages. On the 15th and 19th of January 1859 a mob ...caste Hindus, to the number of about 400, armed with blud...ons, daggers and knives visited the markets of Arumānūr, ...ttankaḍa and Tirupuram, all in the Neyyattinkara taluk, ...ivandrum district, and assaulted the Christian Nāḍārs. They ...ed to set fire to the chapels of these places, but failed because of

...23 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. John Cox to the Resident dated Trivandrum January 21, 1859. (See Document No. XIX)

...24 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident dated Neyyur January 15, 1859. (See Document No. XVI)

...25 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. James Russel to the Resident. (See Document No. XXIII)

...26 *Ibid.*, Report of the Dewan to the Resident of Travancore dated February 12, 1859. (See Document No. XXXII)

the vigilance of the Christians.[127] Rev. John Cox wrote: "M[illegible] of the public throughfares and markets about Balaramap[illegible] and Neyyattuncarey are now frequented by violent men [illegible] assault and intimidate the Christians, whether men [illegible] women".[128]

When the revolt reached its highest point the Nāḍārs [illegible] places received new spirit and enthusiasm. Baylis wrote: "[illegible] Shanars have been very much excited of late, chiefly by the [illegible] less acts of the Sudras in preventing their women wearin[g the] upper–cloth, tearing it from them, and otherwise ill-trea[ting] them."[129] At Agastīśvaram, the strong hold of the Nāḍārs [illegible] South Travancore, they collected together and decided to [illegible] men and money. They proposed combined and systematic re[sis]tance to the governmental authority and solicited the Nāḍārs [of] Tinnevelly to come and help them in this great venture.[130] T[he] Nāḍārs of Tinnevelly gathered together with a view to e[nter] Travancore to join the Nāḍārs of Travancore and to plunder [the] villages of caste Hindus.[131] The Nāḍārs of all places irrespe[c]tive of their territories combined together to resist the outrages [of t]he caste Hindus in Travancore.[132] But the timely action of [the] Resident averted the impending calamity. In his letter to [the] Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated January 10, 1849, he wro[te:] "A letter from the Vulliyoor Tahsildar (Tinnevelly) rather corr[o]borates the report: I have communicated the information to t[he] Magistrate at Tinnevelly."[133] This created havoc into the min[ds of]

127 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. John Cox to the Resident dated Trivandrum January 21, 1859. (See Document No XIX)

128 *Ibid.*

129 *Ibid.*, Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident dated Neyyūr January 10, 1859. (See Document No. XIII)

130 *Ibid.*, Report of the Dewan to the Resident (See Docume[nt] No. XXXII)

131 Copies of Official Papers……Letter from W. Cullen to T. Pycroft, dated January 18, 1859. (See Document XVIII)

132 *English Records.*, Letter from Gen. Cullen to the Dewan of Travancore dated February 10, 1859. (See Document XX[illegible]

133 Copies of Official Papers …… Letter from W. Cullen to T. Pycroft dated January 18, 1859. (See Docume[nt] No. XVIII)

[c]aste Hindus and the government. They determined to hush [th]e violent acts for the time being.

When the violence of the caste Hindus became widespread [th]e Nāḍārs did not confine themselves to a bare defence, but they [ret]aliated the outrage on Śūdra women.[134] They in large [num]bers armed with weapons attacked a village of the caste [H]indus and plundered it and committed much voilence. This [ca]used sufferings to numberless caste Hindus.[135] During the [pe]riod between October 1858 and February 1859 nine chapels and [th]ree school houses of the Christians were destroyed by the caste Hindus.[136]

The missionaries were also not left undistrubed. When Rev. J. J. Dennis and Rev. James Russel, two missionaries of the L. M. S. visited some of the Christian prisoners in jail, they were grossly insulted and publicly abused by the government servants of the jail with the consent of the Naick of the Jail. Although the case was submitted before the government it did nothing to the miscreants. The officers, who engaged in that act, used every machination to hush up the case. The missionaries painfully wrote: "Our testimony is to be set at naught by the persons accused and that their word is regarded as being of more value than ours."[137] All the missionaries of the L. M. S. were abused and humiliated. They were obliged to have guards at their residences. One boasted: "Fifteen and a half parts out of sixteen of your religion are gone and the remaining portion will very soon fly off like cotton wool at a single blow of the mouth…… Your God has taken the flight."[138]

The police officers appointed to quell the revolt were advised

134 Report of the Dewan to the Resident dated February 12, 1859. English Records., (See Document No. XXXII)

135 Annual Report of the Travancore District Committee (L. M. S.) for the year 1859, pp. 3–4.

136 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 302.

137 Letter from Rev. J. J. Dennis and Rev. James Russel to the Resident dated Nagercoil April 14, 1859. English Records.

138 Quoted by Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 303.

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to investigate and dispose of police cases speedily.[139] The ... of the caste Hindus accused of serious crimes of incendiarism, ... and assault were disposed of speedily, but that of the Nādārs, ... were accused of "threatening to raise a rebellion", were protra... by various means for months.[140] The Nāḍārs accused ... rigorously imprisoned and fettered.[141] Although the leaders ... this revolt were apprehended, they were not given the deser... punishment. Baylis wrote: "Not one of the defendants charg... with incendiarism have been put in confinement, and especial... that one Eechoo Koorippoo Sermanakaran, a conspicuous promoter of these outrages, although a Sirkar servant, st... continues in employment."[142] The Dewan reported: "Som... minor Sirkar officials who appeared to have acted improperly w... suspended from employment."[143]

When the British Government came to know about ... People's Revolt for the right of women to cover their bo... with jackets and upper–clothes, an order was issued by T. Pycr... Chief Secretary, dated January 27, 1859, instructing Gen. Cu... to be "careful to give no countenance to the idea that the Bri... Government of which he is the—representative, recognises ... exclusive distinctions, or the right of any set of men to prev... others from following in all matters of social or demestic life, ... course as they may see fit, provided it be not repugnant to pub... decency and morals."[144] The Resident was also reminded of ... duty "to impress these views on His Highness the Rajah and ... point out to him such prohibitions and those contained in ... circular order of may 1814, or in the proclamation of Februar...

139 The Dewan's Report to the Resident dated February ... 1859. English Records. (See Document No. XXXII)

140 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*. pp. 303–4.

141 Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore da... Cochin, April 11, 1859. English Records (See Docum... No. XLVII)

142 *Ibid.*, Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travanc... dated Cochin, April 11, 1859, (See Document No. XLVI...

143 *Ibid.*, The Report of the Dewan to the Resident da... February 12, 1859. (See Document No. XXXII)

144 Copies of Official Papers......, Order of T. Pycroft, Ch... Secretary, dated January 27, 1859. (See Document No. XX...

...1829 are unsuited to the present age, and unworthy of an enlightened prince."[145]

The Resident, when the revolt became wide spread, suspected the proceedings of the Government of Travancore. He wrote to the Dewan when he received several letters from the missionaries relating to the outrages committed by caste Hindus: "I do not see a single case of assault by either Shanars, Sudras, or Christians nor of the chapel burning—notwithstanding the numerous cases that have occured."[146] The Resident feared: "There must be something very defective, in the Police management." He hoped that the Dewan "be able to afford explanation upon the various specific charges of outrage made by the different missionaries."[147]

The report of the Dewan dated February 12, 1859 regarding the origin, development and suppression of the revolt, which was forwarded to the Madras Government was "a temperate and fair statement."[148] The Madras Government requested Gen. Cullen to inform it of the steps he had taken in furtherance of the instructions conveyed to him on the 27th January 1859—"You will without further delay yield obedience to the repeated order which have been conveyed to you, and report in detail what you have done in consequence of the resolutions of this Government communicated to you on the 27th January and on the 14th of March last, and what the Maharajah has done in consequence."[149] The Resident was also informed that, "The degree of interference which for many years of past has been exercised by the representative of the British Government in the affairs of Travancore is so large, and his intervention so general, that the credit or discredit of the administration greatly rests with the British Government, and it has thereby become their duty to insist

145 *Ibid.*

146 Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore dated Trivandrum, February 10, 1859. English Records, (See Document No. XXX)

147 *Ibid.*

148 Copies of Official Papers;...... Minute by Walter Elliot dated March 3, 1859. (See Document No. XXXVI)

149 *Ibid.*, Minute by the President, dated May 7, 1859. (See Document No. LII)

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upon the observance of a system of toleration in a more desi manner than they would be at liberty to adopt if they had me to bring their influence to bear on an independent state."[150]

The missionaries of the L. M. S. of South Travancore hav received no response from the government to their petition da February 7, 1859, referred the matter to the investigation a decision of the Madras Government. On 28th March 1859 Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras Mr. T. Pycro called for a reply from the Resident of Travancore.[151] The re being not satisfactory, the whole matter was communicated Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India and to the Supre Government. Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madr was ordered by Lord Stanley to institute a prompt inquiry. studied the whole matter which was a complicated one beca "the differences on religious principles and caste habits are mi up with social and pecuniary interests. The Shanars on becom Christians claim privileges, which partly, if not entirely, free the from many of the duties, which their state of serfdom, if n slavery, previously entailed upon them; and on these advantag accruing to the Christian converts, the heathen Shan evidently aspire to the enjoyment of the same changes, thou without conversion.

"The Sudras, on the other hand, look with great jealousy o these changes, not only on account of their placing those wh they consider a degraded race, in a better social position, but al because they themselves became losers by the emancipation some extent, of their serfs or slaves from some of th duties."[152] The Governor Charles Trevelyan and his Coun members after inquiring into the matter found just cause to int fere on behalf of the defenceless and suffering women of Sou Travancore. He wrote a letter in strong terms to the Resident Travancore on 6th May, 1859 in which he voiced his feelin "The recent proceedings in reference to certain females of

150 *Ibid.*
151 *Ibid.*, Political Consultation March 28, 1059.
152 *Ibid.*, Minute of the Governor dated February 28, 18 (See Document No. XXXIV)

Shanar class which have attracted so much attention, both in England and India, require no comment from me. I have seldom met with a case in which not only truth and justice but every feeling of our common humanity are so entirely on one side. The whole civilized world would cry shame upon us if we did not make a firm stand on such an occasion. If any thing could make this line of conduct more incumbent on us it would be the extraordinary fact that persecution of a singularly personal and indelicate kind is attempted to be justified by Royal proclamation, the special object of which was to assure to Her Majesty's Indian subjects liberty of thought and action, so long as they did not interfere with the just rights of others. I should fail in respect to Her Majesty if I attempted to describe the feelings with which She must regard the use made against Her own sex of the promises of protection so graciously accorded by Her."

"It will be your duty to impress these views on His Highness the Rajah, and so point out to him that such prohibition as those conveyed in the Circular Order of May 1814 or in the Proclamation of the 3rd February 1829 are unsuited to the present age and unworthy of an enlightened Prince."[153]

When the draft of the proclamation giving freedom to the women of the Nāḍārs to cover their bosoms was submitted before the Resident by the Dewan, the former stated: "It is at present intended only for the Shanars and there are grounds, perhaps, for considerings theirs as a distinct case because of the constant intercourse with the same caste in His Highness' adjoining territories.

"Might you not have introduced some reference to the numbers of the population likely to be affected by the change not only in Travancore but in Cochin and the Collectorate of Malabar, so as to show to the Government how extensive may be its operation?"[154] But no steps were taken to implement the

153 *Ibid.*, Minute by the President dated May 7, 1859. (See Document No. LII)
154 Letter from Gen. Cullen to the Dewan of Travancore dated May 5, 1859. English Records. (See Document No. LI)

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order permitting the women of unprivileged classes to cover their bosoms, in all places of Kerala.

The Dewan consulted the matters with the Rajah, who was in favour of the abolition of all rules prohibiting the wearing of clothes. The Dewan wrote to the Resident on the 17th May 1859 thus: "His Highness certainly feels that the provisions of the Proclamation of 1004 M. E., on the subject of the dress of the inferior castes require to be greatly modified.

"His Highness now proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency any way they deem proper, with the simple restriction that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes."[155] He pointed out that the Maharajah desired to extend opportunities for the improvemen t of the moral and social condition of his subjects of all classes. The Rajah feared, the introduction of decisive reforms in matters of caste and religion might produce serious discontent among the larger communities of the country. "His Highness would not have made even this small reservation, were it not for the fear, that the sudden and total abolition of all distinctions of dress which have from time immemorial distinguished one caste from another, may produce most undersirable impressions on the minds of the larger portion of his subjects and cause their serious discontent. Still, I am to observe that by the present concessions the demands of decency have been fully answered, without needlessly offending the feelings peculiar to the other castes."[156] He hoped that "the progress of education among the people in general may be expected to pave the way for much greater changes. His Highness hopes that the arrangement now proposed, the only one which seems to be calculated to answer the object in view without the probability of disturbing the peace of the country, would meet with your approval and that of the Madras

155 *Ibid.*, Letter from the Dewan to the Resident dated Trivandrum May 17, 1859. (See Document No. LVII)

156 *Ibid.*

Government."[157] The modifications suggested in the existing rules regarding dress was happily approved of by the Resident. He wrote: "The modifications which you have suggested in the existing rules in regard to dress for the Shanar females, and which you state have also received approval of His Highness the Rajah, appear to me to be quite satisfactory, and fully to meet the views of the Madras Government."[158] As per the request of the Resident the Government of Madras accepted the concession.[159] "This concession," Trevelyan, the Madras Governor recorded, "must, I think, be accepted as a practical earnest on the part of the Rajah of the desire to put an end to the barbarous and indecent restrictions previously existing upon the dress of the Shanar women, but we cannot pronounce a final opinion until we see the working of the new regulation."[160] Accordingly a proclamation was issued by the Rajah of Travancore on 26th July 1859: "There is no objection to Shanar women either putting on a jacket like the Christian Shanar women, or to Shanar women of all creeds dressing in coarse cloth, (Kaṭṭiśśīla) and tying round with it as the Mukkavattikal (low caste fisherwomen) do, or to their covering their bosoms in any manner whatever; but not like women of high castes."[161]

The proclamation failed to satisfy the aspirations and desires of the people in general. They wanted full liberty to follow their own inclinations and tastes in matters of dress and personal adornment and comfort, as in Tinnevelly and other parts of British India. The situation was not changed even after the proclamation. The dissatisfied missionaries of the L. M. S. of Travancore submitted a petition in July 1859 to the Governor of Madras, denouncing the reservations of the proclamation and

157 *Ibid.*

158 *Ibid.*, Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore dated Trivandrum, May 21, 1859. (See Document No. LIX)

159 Copies of Official Papers......Order No. 347 dated June 6, 1859. (See Document No. LXI)

160 *Ibid.* Minute by the President dated May 30, 1859. (See Document No. LVIII)

161 *Directorate of State Archives*, Proclamations from 1858–1874 AD See Document No. IX (Malayalam)

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requested the intervention of the Governor in the affairs of Travancore to secure the position of the missionaries and their Christian converts. They exposed the barbaric laws and customs and practices to which the European missionaries were subjected. They demanded "exemption of all Europeans from liability to native law, and the rendering them subject to authorities appointed by the British Government."[162] The petition further protested against the presence of Gen. Cullen as Resident in Travancore, who was in their eyes a Hinduised Christian, supporting the Rajah and the Dewan in their opposition to the missionaries' endeavours.[163]

The Secretary of State for India approved the actions of the Travancore Government. He wrote: "It is necessary to recapitulate the circumstances attending the outbreak occasioned by the assumption on the part of certain Shanar women of the garment known as the 'upper--cloth'. Public tranquillity has now been restored and it is hoped that the measures adopted by the Travancore state will prevent the recurrence of these painful disputes and embarrassing disturbances.

"I learn that the Rajah proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency in any way they may deem proper with the simple restriction that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes. With this concession, though it falls short of what you originally contemplated, you deem it expedient, under the circumstances stated, to be satisfied, and I am of opinion that you are right in accepting the proposed concession and earnestly hope that it will have the desired effect."[164]

This People's Revolt was a great land mark in the social and

162 Petition to the Honourable Sir C. E. Trevelyan, Governor of Madras from the Missionaries of South Travancore dated July 18, 1859, Manuscript (LMS) Quoted by Robert L. Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

163 *Ibid.*

164 Quoted by Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 531.

political history of Kerala. For the first time in the history of Kerala a people fought bitterly and earnestly, and succeeded after shedding sweat and blood, in winning their rights and privileges to dress decently. Although certain reservations were included in the proclamation granting the women right to cover their bosom, the Nāḍār women took their own liberty, at their risk, to dress decently; and freely moved about in the streets and markets without considering the prejudices of the privileged classes. The Resident General Cullen wanted to extend the benefits of the proclamation to all classes of people, but the Travancore Government took no steps in that direction immediately. The revolt was continued by the Īḻavas, who were prohibited from covering their bosoms even after the proclamation of July 1859, and after six years, in 1865, the Travancore Government was forced to bow before the unquenching desire of the socially backward classes of people and accordingly a proclamation was issued by the Rajah permitting the women of the Īḻavas and other socially backward classes who were till then prohibited from covering their bosoms, to wear upper garments.[165] The People's Revolt for the right of women to wear clothes above the waist formed the basis of the radical changes that took place in the last decades of the 19th and early decades of the 20th centuries. The event is a significant chapter in the social history of Kerala now that it marked the beginning of a series of protests and remonstrances of backward communities for equality before law and equal protection of laws. The echoes of this loud outburst of the suppressed civic consciousness are heard later in the Malayali Memorial, Ezhava Memorial, Vaikom Satyagraha and similar other socio-political movements.

165 *Directorate of State Archives*, Proclamation of 1865, (See Document No. XI (Malayalam)

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DOCUMENTS

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A. (English)

I

The Petition of British Missionaries to the Rajah of Travancore: 19–3–1847

The Petition of the British Missionaries in Travancore to H. H. the Rajah.

May it please Your Highness.

"We, the undersigned Missionaries from Great Britain, engaged in promoting the welfare of Your Highness on the occasion of the death of H. H. the late Rajah and to offer our congratulation on your succeeding the Government of this fine country and to express our hope that Your Highness' Government will become illustrious by reason of the numerous benefits conferred upon the people.

"Your Highness' extensive intercourse with the people around and consequent familiarity with their condition, beyond what usually falls under the observation of those in eminent situation, induces the hope that acquaintance has given rise to wise and kind thought for the poor and oppressed among your subjects.

"While we duly appreciate the benevolent efforts of H. H. the late Rajah for the improvement of the condition of the people, there is one large and interesting class viz., the slave population invaluable for its services in the cultivation of the country and the chief producers of its food who appear to have been left to give Your Highness the opportunity of conferring a benefit wider in its operation and more beneficial in its character than any which has yet been conferred on Travancore. For the emancipation of this class, we, though foreigners, beg to plead sanguine that Your Highness will rejoice at the opportunity of commencing your Government with so great an act of humanity and kindness. By the census of 1836 the population of Travancore was 12,80,668. Of these, there were

Parayar	38,625	} entered "soil slaves"
Pulayar	90,598	
Coraivar	31,891	
Pallar	3,750	

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In all 164,864 slaves, not to mention 16,226 malay and other hill tribes, many of them in a state of vassalage.

(i) "With the condition of the slaves we have had opportunities of becoming acquainted and have been distressed to find, in reference to these people, employed in the most labo and unhealthy services, that even when hardest wrought, food is barely adequate to their sustenance—their clo miserably scanty, their dwellings affording but little shelter from moisture and cold surrounding them; and that generally provision is made for their support when their labour is required or disease or age render them unable to labour—tha medical aid is provided for them when ill—that they can be are bought and sold as cattle and that in the heartless traffic husband and wife, the parent and child can be rudely separ and sold in different directions:– that they are often subjected very cruel treatment from their masters, and that owing to degradation, they are in a great measure deprived of the be of the law courts and entirely cut off from all access to th prince.

"Of the above number we have no means of knowing many are Sircar slaves. Were not the degradation of all to co plete, we should have solicited that a beginning might be made the emancipation of those; but remembering their extreme mis and knowing that the British Government has abolished slav throughout its territories, and recently extended this merc arrangement to India and other states are initiating the exam we venture to hope that Your Highness will pass a law, reference to the slave population of Travancore, similar to th passed by the Government of Bengal and now in operation w regard to slaves in the Honourable Company's territories, a thus perform an act of mercy to a numerous class of your subje which will make your name precious in Travancore for generati to come as the reliever of the oppressed. We venture to sub to Your Highness that the history of slavery shows that it is most costly labour that it depends the owners as much as slaves and that its extinction greatly conduces to the wea intelligence, and social comfort of man, wherever it has b achieved.

"Wishing Your Highness' wisdom and energy to devise and ecute measures which may promote the social weal and the tual improvement of all your people."

We have the honour to be

Your Highness' very obedient servants.

rch 19th 1847.

II

The Edict of 1851

"The letter of the Tassildar dated 30 Machy/February and opy of the proceedings of the complaint have reached here in ich is stated that a certain complaint was brought by one Pala-te Shangaren, an Illowen, asserting that he on becoming a Christian, was oppressed by Coppuncura Cooriapa and others for not moving out of the highroad and while under investigation, a letter of boodashanty Emperuniar/a priest officiating the duty of umbrella bearer to the God/of Thiroovella temple, arrived stating that he, on going out one day from the eastern Gopuram, saw Illowen Shangaren coming that way and that the Padri residing at Tholeicherry has caused Illowens, Polayars & C., to come and live with him and says that they have embraced the Christian religion and he takes them, contrary to former costom, by the eastern part of the temple—another letter from the Preverticaren of Nedoomprum says that he sends a copy of the Padry's letter sent to him by the Padri, stating that Palaculi Chenan and others who were formerly Illowens and have now embraced the true religion and have become Christian Maplays and that they will no longer follow the customs of Illowens, as they used to do but those of the Maplays and that he/the Preverticaren should so arrange matters that they be not oppressed, another letter of the Padri to the Tassildar says that the convert Chenan and others on their way to the district went by the eastern part of the temple were abused and disturbed by several Brahmins and requests to know whether the Tassildar is able to protect them so that they may not be prevented from following the true religion. It is unnecessary to examine the complaint at the Huzoor you/the Tassildar/must settle it according to the regulations, but an Illowen becomes a Christian he must never cease to be an Illowen, therefore you must not allow

Cherian & other converts to the Christian religion to ... through the Public-highway by the temple but must compel th... to go round through the fields.''

III

The Petition of Viśvāsam Vēdanāyagam Catechist to the Resident: 19-2-1858

To

The Lt. Genl. W. Cullen,
British Resident of Travancore and Cochin.
The humble Petition of Vesoovasum Vadanayag... Catechist of Parasharivilly and others of Agastee... ram Pidagy in the Agasteeswaram District.

Most Respectfully Sheweth,

That the Petitioners from 19th Alpasy up to this time ha... addressed 21 Petitions to theDewan in person and by means of ... post on the ill-treatment of the Christian people by the Tassil... and Proverticar in the management of Sirkar works such as ... carrying on delivering writing cadjans; and received and deliver... to the Tassildar from the Dewan 10 orders to the effect viz., ... avert force and oppression in carrying out these works.

That every time when those orders were handed to ... Tassildar, he has not only not paid any attention to them but ... with the view of frightening the people acted with greater injus... and cruelty than before spitefully confining the Petitioners an... keeping them in prison & exposing them to starvation ... disease.

That accordingly at present he has imprisoned one by ... name of Koonamoodian from Malayenvilly who took an or... from the Huzzoor respecting their illegal proceedings towards ... people in the neighbourhood of Malayenvilly.

That the Petitioners therefore humbly request your hon... would condescend to issue orders and release the prisoner enq...

...to the improper conduct of the Tassildar put a stop to further ...schiefs & relieve the Petitioners.

(Sigd)

...ebruary 19, 1858

By soding
Your servant shall as in duty beg
Ever pray

IV

...etter from Rev. James Russel to the Resident: 20-2-1858

Nagercoil,
Feb. 20, 1858.

To

General W. Cullen
British Resident

Sir,

Though averse in the extreme to any interference in the ...mplaints of the people in seeking the redress of their grievances, ...y conscience will not allow me to be silent on the present ...casion. Pardon me therefore if I say that the case brought to ...ur notice by the Petitioners is one which urgently calls for your ...rompt interference and for the interposition of your authority. ...hey ask only for the release of the complainer and for investigation. ...he only crime the man has committed is being active in bringing the ...isdeeds of the Tasildar to the notice of the Dewan. Every one ...nows that in such a case investigation as against an official and a ...umble Christian is only a waste of time and a source of further ...ppression to the poor people. It should be laid down as a rule ...hat every official who cannot conduct the business for which ...e holds office without complaints of oppression and injustice ...hould be dismissed without redress and instantly let this be ...horoughly understood and impartially acted upon and these ...ould soon be a very state of things in the country, again I say ...ardon me. But did you but know a little of what we in these

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parts are compelled to know and digest as best as may you wo not be surprised at the manner in which I have written. Craving your earliest interference in the matter.

Believe me &c.,
/ Signed / James Russel.

V

Letter from the Acting Dewan to the Resident: 8-3-1858

Huzur Cutcherry,
Trivandrum,
8th March 1858.

To
Lt. General Cullen,
British Resident of Travancore.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your le of the 24th ultimo No. 336 forwarding copy of one to yo address from the Rev. J. Russel of Nagercoil, under date the 20 Idem with its enclosure, an original petition from certai Christian Shanars, and in reply I beg to state as follows:—

2. Firstly Thiroomalay Samuel and others of El Shandy Villa Coodiyerappoo in the Agasteeswaram Pidag complained at this cutcherry that the local authorities we oppressing the respectable inhabitants, and compelling them to co vey the salt manufactured at the Thamarakulam Pans to the pla where the same is stored, instead of getting the work done coolies on payment of hires as usual. An order was issued to Tahsildar of Agasteeswaran (under date the 17th Tye/2 January last) through the Deputy Peishkar Raman Pillay charge of the Southern Districts to inquire into, and fur a report on the above complaint.

3. Secondly, the same complaints addressed Huzur to the effect that the local authorities were oppre

them in various ways in regard to the supply of coconut leaves as fodder for elephants, writing cadjains for the use of the Sirkar. The Tahsildar was called upon direct by the acting Dewan for a report on this case.

4. Thirdly, Viswasom Vadanayagam complained at this Cutcherry that Jacob and two others of Keelputtoo Paracherry Velay were decoyed away by Thundakaram Thanooven, and placed in confinement, and that Tanah Peon Krishna Pillay extorted a bribe of 5 fanams from them. On examination of the returns of prisoners in confinement up to the 10th Tye/21st January last, it appeared that the individuals above referred to were in durance since the 24th Margaly/6th January on account of their having refused to convey salt from the pans, and to supply writing cadjans. The Tahsildar was called upon on the 20th Tye/4th January ultimo last for a report on this case.

5. Fourthly and lastly; the individuals Viswasom Vadanayagam already alluded to, also Sabastian Joan, and others petitioned this Cutcherry to the effect that the local authorities were constantly sending the Desacavalkar and peons to their abodes, and molesting them in various ways. An order was issued to the Tahsildar on the 20th Tye last/10th February ultimo, to inquire and report on this complaint.

6. From a report furnished by the Tahsildar under date the 5th Mawsy/15th February ultimo, on all the above points, I gather the following details. It has ever been customary for all Shanars. without exception as to creed, inhabiting the Agasteeswaram, Parakay, Cottar, and Padapattoo Kalvies, upon the requisition of the local servants to convey the salt manufactured at the Thamarakulam Pans to the place, where the same is stored whence it is removed to the different Bankshalls, and to collect and deliver at Manakudy the number of writing cadjans appointed to be supplied from the Agasteeswaram Dt. for the use of the Huzur Cutcherry and other establishments. In consequence of the cadjans required for the last year not having been delivered at Manakudy at the proper season, the same could not be forwarded to this place by sea; and the Tahsildar reporting the circumstance to the Huzur, he was directed to send down

hither the cadjans which were delivered at the above said pla after the shipping season was over as well as to collect and s down the supply due in arrear by land by those persons w failed to deliver the article at Manakudy at the proper seaso The Tahsildar made arrangements accordingly with the exceptio of the Christian Shanars of Agasteeswaram Keelputtoo all t other individuals brought their shares of the articles to Trevan drum. The cadjans due by the Keelputtoor Shanars were take charge of by Arumanayagom Muthaputtacaran (Headman of th Shanars of that place) and delivered by him to Marcum an others for transmission to this place: but the Catechists of Par cherry Velai and Mallayem Velai prevented the above mentione individuals from conveying the same hither and also discusse those Shanars of Keelputtoor, who were directed to convey th years' salt from the Pans at the storing place from doing so The Tahsildar reported the circumstance to the Deputy Peishka and agreeably to instructions received from the latter official, se for those persons who refused to perform the above service entered into an enquiry with them regarding their refractor conduct as a public matter, and placed them in confinement fo such conduct. The parties were released with the exception o 3 individuals, who failed to furnish security, which the others ha done. On the 19th Tye/30th January last, when the shippin season opened a Thony having arrived at Manakudy the Tahsi dar directed the Proverticar to cause the 3 persons above men tioned to convey the salt ready for shipment in that vessel, from the pans to the storing place. They conveyed a portion of the salt one day and afterwards ran away. The two Catechists alluded to sent it appears from house to house telling the Christian in habitants that they (the Catechists) would get the work o conveying salt and supplying cadjans put a stop to, and dissuaded them from doing such work in future, and the Catechists and other Christian Shanars seemed to have entered into a combin ation to oppose the requisition of the Sirkar and addressing petitions without any just cause (sic) attempting assaults on the (sic) to collect people for (sic) referred to and dispersing those (sic) for such.

In consequence (sic) those persons (sic) nearer before made (sic) objections to perform similar work, (sic) to do so (sic) on

half of the number of cadjans which ought to have been supplied last year has not been delivered as yet and no salt or cadjarns can be shipped in the vessels which call for them.

The Tahsildar further observes that the Sirkar servants are sent to collect people to perform the services in question, petitions are sure to be got up and even affrays might occur. That the Catechists instead of attending to the legitimate business for which they are paid by the Mission seek to impose upon the Christian Shanars by telling them that they, the Cate-chists would get the ooliyam service due by those Shanars dis-continued, and the Shanars on their part are but too ready to listen to the Catechists and refuse to perform the service required from them by the Sirkar. The Tahsildar proceeded (sic) that certain duties are expected (sic) the Sirkar from various other people from Brahmins down to the people of the lowest castes in consideration of grants made to them by the Sirkar of lands, privileges and indulgences, and those persons when called upon to perform such duties, do so without failure or murmur; that hence the parties who have preferred the petitions under adver-tence, have no just grounds for refusing to do the work lawfully required of them.

7. Under these circumstances, I on the 9th Mausy current 19th February ultimo directed the Tahsildar to send for all such persons who refuse to perform the services required of them by Sirkar according to custom and usage, as well as these persons who dissuade them from rendering such services, enter into a formal enquiry with them, and dispose of the matter according to the regulations.

8. Since the despatch of the above order, I received four letters under acknowledgement, and an examination of the (sic) report received from the Agasteeswaram (sic) I found that (sic) which form the (sic) in confinement (sic) refusing to (sic) salt as before (sic) I have (sic) Tahsildar (sic) dated the 18th Margaly/28th February (sic) to release (sic) on bail (sic) the charge against him in (sic) regulation.

9. I have called upon the (sic) for certain particulars of information touching (sic) system (sic) services. As soon I receive his report I shall submit the report of it for your information.

On a decision being passed by the Tahsildar in the above cases should the petitioners think themselves aggrieved on the score of any irregular proceedings on the part of the Tahsildar. I will take due notice of such representations as they may have to make on the subject.

10. You will, I think equally with myself perceive from the above explanations that the Christian Shanars appear to be (sic) evading the demands (sic) services, which (sic)

I have etc.,
Sd/— T. Madhava Row
Ag. Dewan.

VI

Proclamation issued by the Dewan of Travancore dated 14th Margali 1034/27th December 1858.

It has been brought to the notice of the Sirkar that some Shanar women have begun to wear upper-clothes in a fashion different from that hitherto customary and that this gives occasion to quarrels between Shanars and Sudras and other high caste people. If any modifications be desired of long established usages, the proper course would be to represent the matter to the Sirkar and abide by its decision. But conduct in violation of old usages is not proper, and is punishable. This the Shanars should bear in mind, and shape their conduct accordingly.

Should any Shanars conduct themselves irregularly, such should be duly reported to the Sirkar. But Sudras and others should not themselves resist so as to cause any breach of the peace. Those that act otherwise will also be liable to punishment.

Sd/-

T. Madhava Row,
Dewan.

VII

Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident: 1-1-1859

Neyoor,
January 1, 1859.

To
Lt. Gen. W. Cullen,
British Resident.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that a mission chapel situated at Callengully, in this Calcullam District, was set on fire by some evil disposed persons, and burnt down on the night of Monday the 27th ultimo as the Dewan was in the neighbourhood, I addressed a letter to him on the subject yesterday — a copy of which I enclose.

2. I beg also to enclose a copy of a letter I addressed to the Dewan, dated December 6th, relating to the brutal outrage committed by some Sircar officials and others on one of my Catechists and his wife; to which I solicit your attention. There does not appear the slightest prospect of justice being done in this case, as up to the present time, the accused parties have not been apprehended and their dispositions taken, tho' it is said orders were issued on the subject by the Dewan while here.

3. I attribute the burning of the chapel mainly to the neglect of this case by the Police Sheristadar, and the Tahsildar of Erneel, to whom it was sent. They would not so have delayed to make a full enquiry, had the accused parties been Shanars or some others of the so called lower castes but because these men are of higher caste, and Circar officials, they are treated with great tenderness and respect, and are let to think that any outrage perpetrated on the Shanars will go unpunished.

I feel bound to say that I have never yet known of any complaint brought by one of the lower classes against one of the higher in Travancore receiving any proper attention in the Police. All the officials are banded together against the unfortunate applicant for justice — all kinds of delays are purposely made — all kinds of intimidations and oppressions are resorted to, until

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he is wearied out, finding that he only get further trouble for all his efforts to get his complaint redressed.

4. It is not so when any of the higher classes complain against any of the lower, as an instance, I would bring to your notice the following case — on Saturday, the 25th ultimo a number of Soodras, some of them Sircar Peons, attacked some Christians at Callengully, dragged them from their houses tried to force open our Chapel (since burnt down) to see if there were any hiding, tied four men in such a way as to cause marks and wounds (which I have seen myself) and took them away, and kept them in confinement for some days. As these men presented a Petition to the Dewan that officer will know the case, these men are still in custody, but nothing is done to examine and punish those who have treated them so cruelly and unlawfully. The true reason I believe, is that, these are of the lower and degraded class —— those are of the higher are of favoured class. But these men are cultivators, respectable inhabitants of the country, as respectable, orderly, and paying their taxes to the Sircar as regularly as any of the Soodras who have so oppressed them, but they can get no justice because of their caste.

5. While the Dewan was in this neighbourhood many complaints were made to him, tho' the Soodras used every means to prevent complainants getting to his presence, and there seemed some prospect of these cases being attended to, as that officer bears a high name for impartiality and strictness in administering justice, but his time was no doubt much taken up in attending to the Shooshendrom Festival, and irrigation works, and the poor people who are oppressed have no hope of obtaining justice from any of the local officers.

6. I would also add that as the Soodras are in a very excited state just now, and have been heard uttering threats against myself and the Christian converts connected with this Mission. I quite expect to hear of more cases of chapel burning, unless something is done to restrain them. Many of them have evidently been led to think that because the Company's Government has ceased in India there will no longer be any protection for European or Native Christians in Travancore. They may see these things only to intimidate others, but they show what their wishes are, and it is fortunate for us, that their courage falls as far short of their wishes in the matter. May I be allowed to suggest that a strong proclamation is needed, shewing that there is no real change in the possession of the Government in Travancore, and that if any such outrages are perpetrated, as have been common of late, by men of any caste, they will be severely punished.

I have &c.,

Sd/— F. Baylis.

~~VIII~~

Letter from the Deputy Peishkar Shungoony Menon in-charge of the Southern Division to the Dewan of Travancore: 3–1–1859.

I have received your Sadhanom from the Police Department, No. 1228, dated the 14th Margaly current/27th December ultimo, forwarding for publication copies of the Proclamation issued by you requiring the Shanars to adhere to the usage hitherto observed by their women of not covering the body with an upper-cloth like the Shoodra women; and the Shoodras to abstain from any proceedings on their own part that may lead to a breach of the peace, if the Shanars should ever be found to act contrary to usage, but to represent the circumstances to the authorities; with a view to prevent any collision between themselves (the Shoodras) and other high caste people on the one part and the Shanars on the other, which it appeared to you likely would occur, from the Shanar women attempting to deviate from the standing usage referred to.

2. I have at once sent the copies of the Proclamation to the several Tahsildars with instructions to them to cause due publicity to be given to the same by beat of Tom Tom, in every Proverthy, thorough–fare, market and other places of public resort and should any person act contrary to the tenor of the Proclamation, to examine the conduct of such person as an offence and dispose of it according to the Regulations.

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3. On enquiry since made by me it appears that the Shoodras and other high caste people act in perfect obedience to the requirements of the Proclamation; but that the Shanars have been setting it at defiance, and that it is their intention to assemble in a multitude and create disturbances, in the event of any instance of proceeding on their part that may be opposed to the terms of the proclamation, being taken cognizance of and met by the local Tahsildars with due punishment according to the tenor of the Proclamation. I am afraid that unless an immediate remedy be applied, the disloyal conduct of the Shanars would grow in dimensions and tend to disturb the public peace.

4. The Christian Shanars instead of conforming to the tenor of the Proclamation of His Highness, having commenced to wear coloured cloths and Vests (Rowkeys) likē those worn by Brahmin and Vellaller women &c., contrary to the principles of their own creed and the long standing usage of the country, the Hindoo Shanars also seen disposed by imitating the example thus set to deviate from usage, and after mutual consultation their women have commenced as now represented, to wear upper-cloths on their bodies.

5. The Shanar women wearing different kinds of cloth like the Shoodras and other high caste people, and frequenting the public roads, cannot be distinguished as Shanars: Hence the present dissensions between the Shanars and Shoodras &c., the Christian Shanars being as shown before, the original cause of the same.

6. When the disloyal conduct of the Christian Shanars is properly dealt with, the Hindoo Shanars would behave themselves as they ought to do. It is therefore very desirable that they should be made fully acquainted with the tenor of the said Proclamation and (with the determination of the Sirkar) that if they should act contrary to it, they would be visited with severe punishment. All necessary measures should be adopted with a view to prevent the probability of their pleading ignorance of the Proclamation.

7. All Christian Shanars being under the guidance of one or another of the Revd. Missionaries, and acting under their advice

in matters connected with their religion, as they apply to the Sirkar through the Missionaries in every matter affecting themselves, and as they congregate under the eyes of the Missionaries on Sundays and other occasions of religious instruction &c., it is very desirable that those Missionaries should impress on the minds of the Christian Shanars under their respective control, the tenor of the Proclamation in question, the necessity of paying obedience to the Sirkar's authority of conforming to the usage of the country and of abstaining from any breach of the peace.

8. It would ofcourse be quite possible for the Missionaries to see to the proper conduct of the members of their respective congregations, and it is equally desirable that they should do so. I am therefore humbly of opinion.that His Highness the Rajah's Proclamation of 1004 should now be re-promulgated—a copy of it being send to each of the Missionaries in their Division, through the Resident, with the request to enjoin a strict adherence to it on the part of the Christian Shanars attached to their respective congregations.

9. It is needless for me to add that it is of great importance to maintain the authority .of the Sirkar by bringing to condign punishment, parties opposing it and that with this view, it is necessary now to re-publish the Proclamation, which was issued 30 years ago; lest the Christian Shanars plead ignorance of the same and the Missionaries support them in such excuses.

Sd/-
Shungoony Menon

(A True Translation)

Sd/-

T. Madhava Row,
Dewan

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IX

Letter from the Deputy Peishkar Shungoony Menon to the Dewan of Travancore, dated 22nd Margaly 1034/4th January 1859.

I have this day received a report from the Extra Police Officer stating that in consequence of the order prohibiting the Shanar women from using clothes over the upper part of their bodies contrary to the usage hitherto observed, Shinanadyan and other Shanars of Puthukudiyirippoo assembled in a large mob, repaired to the petty shops on the western side of the Tobaccoo Bank-shall at Kottar at about 1 O'clock P.M., forcibly took away Tobacco and money from the shops of Manikavasakam, Subramonian and others, and attempted to pull down the shops, by seizing and shaking the lower parts of the roof: that the Shanars consisting of 350 armed men are moving about with the evident object of resorting to violence; and that the merchants of Kottar have, from a panic, shut up their shops and put a stop to the trade in the bazaar.

2. Vencata Row the Anchel Pillay of Vadasserry, has sent in an urgee to the effect that the mob of Shanars are molesting runners, who carry the Anchel mail.

3. I beg to submit here with copies of the urgees received from the Extra Police Officer and the Anchel Pillay, as also of my reply to the former and the communications I had addressed to the Tahsildar of Agasteeswaram previous to the receipt by me of the urgee from the Extra Police Officer.

4. Unless the offenders are brought to prompt and condign punishment, the Shanars would continue their assemblages and add to their unlawful proceedings thereby to the complaints, against them, on the part of the peaceably disposed classes of people; and cause terror to travellers. As a remedial measure, precautionary steps should be taken without loss of time to prevent the Shanars assembling in large bodies, I have made such arrangements as are deemed immediately necessary.

I beg to be favoured with your instructions for my further guidance.

Sd/- Raman Shungaren,
Deputy Peishkar.

(A True Translation)

Sd/- T. Madava Row,
Dewan

X

Letter from the Dewan of Travancore to the Resident: 5-1-1859.

No. 12

Huzur Cutcherry,
Trivandrum, 5th January 1859.

To
The Lt. General W. Cullen,
British Resident of Travancore.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit translation of two communications, one demi-official and the other official dated respectively the 3rd and 4th instant from Deputy Peishkar-in-Charge of the Southern Division touching the irregular conduct of some of the Shanars in that part of the country.

2. When I was recently in the South I was given to understand that unsatisfactory feelings prevailed between the Shanars, and the Sudras and such other cast people in consequence of attempts made by Shanar women to wear a costume not authorised by existing customs and rules. These feelings had an apparent tendency to lead to breaches of the peace in markets and such other places of resorts. To check it, a proclamation was issued, translation of which also accompanies this.

3. From the present communications of the Deputy Peishkar, however, it appears that some of the Shanars are still disposed to be troublesome.

4. I do not know whether any respectable persons have joined in these discreditable proceedings.

5. Such proceedings will of course have to be put down.

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6. If you approve of it, I shall now instruct the Deputy Peishkar to adopt all temporary measures as far as possible to preserve peace. He may also perhaps send for some of the more influential of the Shanars of the place and explain to them the course that they ought to pursue, and desire them to caution their caste people against every proceeding that may have any tendency to cause disturbances of any kind. They may further be given to understand that they are at liberty to depute a few persons to Trivandrum with any representations they may desire to make.

7. I am not, I non, disposed to adopt the suggestion of the Deputy Peishkar to make European Missionaries a channel of communication between the Sirkar and any section of Shanars. But it would, I think, be very desirable to communicate to the Missionaries residing in the South, the expectation of the Sirkar, that they would carefully abstain from every thing that may possibly be interpreted into an approval of or acquiescence in the proceedings reported upon by the Deputy Peishkar.

8. Should you think any other measures are called for, I beg to be favoured with your views.

I have etc.,
Sd/–
T. Madava Row,
Dewan.

XI

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 6–1–1859
No. 30

Resident's Office,
Trivandrum, 6 Jan. 1859.

To

The Dewan of Travancore.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 12 of the 5th instant with its enclosures on the riotous proceedings of a body of Shanars at Kotar, and of the disposition

of that class generally to infringe the existing usages, in regard to their women wearing a cloth over the upper part of their persons.

2. Of course, no attempts to effect by open force any change in the existing rules or usages can for a moment be permitted, and I hope the leaders in the late riotous proceedings may be apprehended, and committed for trial.

3. It may be necessary, if these outrages should continue, to order a small detachment of the Nair Brigade to proceed to Nanjcnaud, and to continue there as a support to the Civil authority.

4. I shall be prepared to address the Missionaries in Nanjenaud, and to point out to them the necessity of abstaining from all interference in the present disputes, but the Deputy Peishkar does not very distinctly define, in what way, they or their Catechists or others have interfered.

5. It is stated in the Sadanam of the Deputy Peishkar, that the Shanars at Kotar were all "armed men", armed with what weapon, and how many of them so armed.

6. So large an assemblage could hardly have taken place, without the previous knowledge of some of the local servants, yet no mention is made of their having given the Police Officer notice.

7. It may be desirable also to augment the Police Establishment, as a temporary measure.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Most obedient servant,
Sd/–
W. Cullen, Resident.

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Letter from the Resident to Rev. F. Baylis: 9-1-1859.

No. 31.

Resident's Office,
Trivandrum, 6 Jan. 1859.

To

Rev. F. Baylis,
Neyyoor.

Sir,

You are no doubt aware of the present disturbed state of feeling on the part of the Shanar population on the subject of the caste prohibition to their females wearing a cloth over the upper part of their persons and of the disorderly proceedings of a large body of them a few days ago at Kottar.

2. But it is stated also in the reports from the south that some of the Christian converts of the Mission have also been adopting a style of dress different from that laid down by the Proclamation of 1004, and it is observed that such deviations from the Regulated dress of the Christian converts has acted as encouragement to the Shanars.

"The Christian Shanars, instead of conforming to the tenor of the Proclamation of His Highness, having commenced to wear Coloured cloth, and Vests/Rowkeys/like those worn by Brahmin and Vellallar women &c., contrary to the principles of their own creed, and the long standing usage of the country; the hindu Shanars also seem disposed, by initiating the example thus set, to deviate from usage, and, after mutual consultation, their women have commenced, as now represented, to wear upper cloth on their bodies."

3. How far these statements may be correct, I cannot say, but I hope you will be of opinion that every deviation of the kind at the present moment should be discouraged.

I have &c.,
Sd/–
W. Cullen,
Resident.

Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident: 10-1-1859.

Moottam, near Neyyoor,
10th January 1859.

To

Lieutenant General W. Cullen,
British Resident.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter (No. 31) of the 6th instant. I am aware that the Shanan have been very much excited of late, chiefly by the lawless acts of the Sudras in preventing their women wearing the upper-cloth, tearing it from them, and otherwise ill-treating them. The conduct of the Shanars may have been improper in attempting to adopt this style of dress for their females in the way they have, but if the Sudras thought this a grievance, I should think their proper course would have been to complain to the Police against such women instead of taking the law into their own hands by abusing them and ill-treating them in the Bazaars and highways, as has been done in many instances.

2. I am also aware that there is a very disturbed state of feeling among the Sudra population at present. I believe, the Dewan, if he thinks proper, can bear testimony to the disorderly conduct of the Sudras at Suchindram, while he was there, where I am informed that they tried to extort from the Sirkar some privileges they have lost, such as the right to treat their slaves as they please, by refusing for sometime to draw the car of their own God: and that he can also bear testimony to their disorderly conduct at Padmanabhapuram where Shanars were beaten by them almost in his presence, and the only crime they had committed was trying to get their petitions to him. I mention these things because, though I think the Shanars are by no means free from blame in the recent occurrences, I think that they are not more blameworthy in the matter than the Sudras. The beating of the Catechist and his wife (which has been fully proved before the Deputy Peishkar) and the burning of the Chapel of Cullengully (which I have no doubt will be fully proved) shew that it is not the Shanars only who are guilty of disorderly conduct.

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3. I have never encouraged any of the Shanars to wear upper-cloth always telling them that their proper course is to petition the Sirkar to be permitted to wear it, and to wait patiently though I confess I see little hope of the Sirkar being willing to allow the women of the Shanar and such castes the privilege of dressing decently by covering their breasts, unless constrained by the interference of the British Government and I confess too that I long to see that Government so interfere.

4. Lately large numbers of Shanars would have been quite unwilling to join the Mission if I would have consented to hold out to them hopes of assistance being given them to obtain this privilege, but I would do nothing of the kind, and not one of them joined us. It is not because I do not sympathise with them in their endeavours to emerge from the barbarous state in which the so-called higher castes (supported by the Sirkar) have long kept them, and still try to keep them, but because I know that it is not my place to render such assistance, or seek to propagate Christianity by such means.

5. I have also always told the Christian converts to be contented with wearing the jacket, the use of which we have tried by every means to encourage, and I am happy to say that during last year about 600 of these jackets (which are not at all like the Rowkeys worn by the Brahmin women) were made chiefly by the girls in our schools, and bought at the full cost of material by the women in our congregations.

6. Since these disturbances have commenced, I have preached to the people from the words of the Apostle Paul (Romans 13 ch. 1st to 7th verses) on the duty of submitting to all the regulations of the Sirkar, which are not opposed to the law of God, and, in case any of them appear hard or unjust to them, urging them to petition in a proper manner for their removal—I believe that of the Christian converts under my care (I cannot speak about others) very few have been in the habit of wearing the upper-cloth when they go in the high ways or to the Bazaars, though I have no doubt that when the question was mooted a short time ago among the other Shanars, a few of our people may have joined them, and their females began to wear it. We do not think our people by any means perfect. None can grieve over their weak-

nesses and imperfections more than we do. We wish that they would give up all caste distinctions, and think of themselves only as Christians, but however willing they might be to do this, the Sirkar do not permit them to do so. They are still spoken of as Christian Shanars, Christian Elavers &c., and are compelled to give the names of their caste in all cases in the Police and Courts.

7. I should also mention here that the Christian women are not unfrequently troubled by the Sudras in the markets &c., for wearing only the jacket which is allowed by the Proclamation over the upper part of their bodies and several have had such jackets torn from them by force and it is perfectly useless for them to complain.

8. With regard to the report from the south of which you sent me an extract, I have to remark that the great body of the Christian converts have not commenced to wear any new style of dress. The writer of that report speaks of their commencing to wear *coloured clothes*. I am informed that it has always been the custom for the more respectable Christian women to wear any coloured clothes that they are able to buy. But I do not know that the wearing of a *coloured* cloth if not as an upper-cloth, is forbidden by any Proclamation.

9. As to the Vests or Rowkeys, such as worn by Brahmin or Vellala women, they have scarcely ever been seen worn by a woman in any district and we should discourage them as not so becoming as the one now in use.

10. In conclusion I would express the hope that the present disturbances may speedily be put a stop to by justice being meted out to both parties with impartiality and that speedily a Proclamation may be published by the Sirkar allowing the people of *all castes* to dress in the manner which most suits their own tastes and convenience, and thus the present barbarous system, so unworthy of a Government which professes to be enlightened, which compels a large portion of the women of the country to go about half-naked, in order to hamper the pride and prejudice of another class, may be forever done away.

I have etc.,
Sd/–F. Baylis.

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XIV

Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident: 11-1-1859.

Neyoor,
11 Jan. 1859.

To

Lt. General W. Cullen,
British Resident.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that another of our Mission Chapel was burnt down last night by a mob of Soodras of the neighbourhood. It is situated at Vadacuncarey in the Medalam Athigarom and was rebuilt by the late Rev. C. C. Leitch in 1854. I hope in the course of another day or two to acquire more accurate information that I may write more fully about this case.

2. I have also been informed that Iravi Tampi of Reel Medalam, Palpanabha Tamby, Thanoovan Tamby, and Palpoo Tamby of Mel Medalam, Velayudhan Pillay of Deviyodu, Koomara Pillay Chetty of Medalam, Radei and other Soodras and Chetties have openly threatened to burn down the large chapels we have at Deviyodu and the houses of the people. If our people meet together to watch the chapel and their houses they are accused by the Soodras of meeting in crowds contrary to the Dewan's Proclamation and if they do not watch, the Soodras will burn the Chapel and accuse the Christians of having done it themselves.

3. Yesterday in the Monday Market a number of Shanars were tied and taken to the Police by the Erneel Tanah Naick and a number of Soodras, tho' there was no charge made against them, and they appear only to have been pursuing their ordinary avocations in the market. Three of these were Christians from this village. A charge was afterwards trumped up that they had come in crowds and stolen articles from the Chetties. A number of Soodras then came to this village and after damaging the houses of several of the people beat my Wuler and his father severely close to the entrance of my compound. I was away at

...am at the time but returned this morning to reassure our ...le who were greatly terrified by the lawless acts of their ...rful enemies.

I have the honour &c.,
Sd/-
F. Baylis.

XV

Letter from W. Cullen to T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to Government: 13-1-1859.

I regret to have reported that there is a very disturbed state of feeling at present in the South Travancore on a matter of case i.e., as to the kind of dress to be worn by the different castes.

2. The low caste of Shanar women, who are very numerous, are prohibited by long usage and regulation from wearing any cloth over their upper part of their portion in the presence of the higher castes, such as Soodras and Brahmins &c.

3. On the establishment of the L. M. S., in South Travancore their converts to Christianity were almost exclusively from the Shanar class of the population, but who, like the other Shanars for several years attempted no change of dress, and abstained from covering their bosoms. Latterly, however, they began to wear a cloth like Soodras and it led to violent outrages and quarrels and almost to an insurrection.

4. Troops had to be send to the south (the subsidiary force being then at Quilon) though they did not require to be called out, and the issue of a proclamation in 1829 establishing a particular description of covering for Christian females by which they could be at once distinguished as such gradually allayed all information.*

5. The agitation has been recently revived, the Soodras asserting that the Shanar women are constantly assuming the privilege of covering the upper part of the person, and thereby preventing a recognition of the caste, while the Shanars themselves

* As per reports to Government. 6, 8 and 13 Jan. 1829.

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simply complain of the prohibition as a hardship. It is believed th... the Christian converts sympathise with the Shanars, if they do ... occasionally actually encourage them. There have been seve... assaults of individuals and some outrages at Kotar, Nagercoil a... Neyyoor.

6. It may be in the recollection of the Government th... several petitions from Shanars were received at different times within the last two or three years complaining of the prohibition to their females wearing an upper cloth, but that they were returned as a matter of local usage and caste, with which the Government declined to interfere. I had reasons to believe that some of these petitions had been prepared by Christians of Nagercoil.

7. In communication with the Dewan, I, a few days ago sent to the South 100 men of the Nair brigade under an European Officer, to support the civil power and which I hope may be sufficient, as the Dewan also proposes to going there to ascertain on the spot the exact state of matters.

XVI

Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident: 15-1-1859

Neyoor,
Jan. 15, 1859

To

Lt. Gen. Cullen,
British Resident.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter which I have just forwarded to the Dewan at Palpanabhapooram respecting the burning of a school-house at Goonamcadu belonging to the Mission and pointing out the likelihood of our chapels at Mandicadu, Deviyodu, Mathyodu and Palapullam being burnt down from the threatening language which has been uttered by certain parties.

2. I would also bring to your notice that when Mr. Russel and myself were at Pareychaley on Thursday the 13th inst. on

...way from Trevandrum, we found that at the Kalliargoovilly ...Market near, the Soodras and Chetties, headed apparently by the ...annah Naick of Cooloothorey, were greatly illusing the people of ...the lower castes. A man, named Sabettian, belonging to one of ...my congregations was assaulted as he was passing, and had his ...cloth and handkerchief plucked from him. This cloth and handkerchief were torn, and hung up as a trophy in a tree by the road ...side, and Mr. Russel and myself saw them there, as we were passing shortly afterwards. Mr. Abbs can probably give fuller information respecting this disturbance.

I have the honour to be &c.,
Sd/—
Frederick Baylis.

~~XVII~~

Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident: 17-1-1859.

Neyoor,
Jan. 17, 1859

To

Lt. Gen. Cullen,
British Resident.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter, I have just forwarded to the Dewan at Palpanabhapuram, referring to the disturbance in the Monday Market on the 10th instant — to the burning of our chapel at Vadacancurray on that night, — and to the way in which some of our women have been treated, tho' wearing only the jacket. I beg respectfully to solicit your attention to these statements.

2. As this village is only occupied by Christians many of the women here have long been accustomed *to wear the upper cloth as well as the Jacket*, as they go about, without any molestation. Only a few of them are in the habit of going to the market and these have generally put it down at such times. A few days ago, however, they all agreed to put off the upper-cloth, and wear only the Jacket, hoping that it would help to put a stop to the present disturbances. I fully approve of their having done so, tho' I am

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sorry there should be a necessity for it, and I shall use ev[ery] endeavour to induce any of my people at out-stations, who h[ave] commenced wearing the upper-cloth to do the same.

3. I am inclind to think that the growing intelligence, wea[lth] and influence of the Shanars / especially those of them who a[re] Christians / owing to the efforts that have been made to educa[te] them, to many of them going often to Ceylon, where some a[re] employed in situations of trust and responsibility / some o[f] our people having situations of from 50 to 70 Rs. per mensem a[s] Conductors &c., and having a large number of coolies under them / and to their engaging to a much greater extent than formerly, in trading in Jaggery, tamarind, cotton, &c., have had much more to do in causing the present irritated and excited state of the Sudras, here than the wearing of the upper-cloth by their females. I think you will allow that these things should be borne in mind, and that measures should be gradually introduced to free such a class from many of those restrictions and disabilities that now press so heavily on them. I must record my opinion that whatever faults the Shanars may have, they are generally a peaceable, well-disposed people, and would remain so, and would go on increasing in intelligence and general prosperity, by which the country must be benefitted, if not irritated beyond the power of endurance by the insolence and tyranny of the higher classes of the population, and by their finding it impossible, as has been too often the case to get redress for their complaints in the police, where all the officials belong to those higher classes.

I have &c.,
Sd/—
F. Baylis.

XVIII

Letter from W. Cullen to T. Pycroft: 18–1–1859

T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort St. George.

I had the honour under date the 13th instant to report the disturbed state of feeling prevailing in the 3 or 4 Southern districts, between portions of the Soodra and Shanar population.

2. Several small mission schools and chapels have since been burned by incendiaries, whom it has not been possible to trace and a small thatched Bungalow, occasionally occupied by the Resident at Nagercoil was burned on the 10th instant.

3. On the 14th instant a small village occupied by Shanars in the Tovalah taluk was fired by a party of Vellalers in day light, but several of the perpetrators of the outrage have since been apprehended.

4. It is difficult to account for the burning of the Mission buildings except of the supposition that the mission converts being all from the Shanar caste, the Hindu Shanars and convert Shanars may be supposed to combine together to obtain the privilege of the upper cloth, and hence the bad feeling of the Soodra population, Nairs and Vellalers, towards the mission.

5. A letter from the Dewan dated yesterday and received this morning informs me of a report of the Shanars across the frontier of the Tinnevelly district collecting there with a view to enter Travancore to join the Shanars and plunder the villages along the frontier. A letter from the Vullioor Tahsildar (Tinnevelly) rather corroborates the report; I have communicated the information to the magistrate at Tinnevelly.

6. A party of 50 men of the Nair brigade have been detached to Sooshendrum, and the Dewan is desirous to have an additional 100 men to the brigade at his disposal, and I have accordingly directed the officer commanding the brigade to hold them in readiness.

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~~XIX~~

Letter from Rev. John Cox to the Resident: 21-1-1859

To
Trevandrum,
21st January 1859

Lt. General W. Cullen,
Resident of Travancore and Cochin.

Sir,

I have the honour to address you respecting the violent conduct and the further threatening aspect of portions of the Hindoos and Mahomedan population against the Christians in several parts of the country.

2. I feel it important to promise that none of the women connected with my Mission have ever worn the upper-cloth, or transgressed the Sirkar regulations concerning dress. But notwithstanding this and every other precaution which has been taken to avoid offence, several assaults have been committed on individual Christian women and their jackets forcibly torn off and some Christian men also assaulted.

3. Complaints in some of the cases have been made to the Police Officer at Neyattuncarey and appeal also made to the Huzoor, but though the charges were proved, the punishment awarded by the Police Officer has proved quite insufficient to deter the offenders from committing further assaults.

4. About two months ago a Christian woman was assaulted in the public market at Aramanoor by a barber of the Eluvar caste and her jacket torn. Ten days ago two women when on their way to Auraulamoodu market were assaulted by Sirkar peons and taken before the Tanna Naick at Neyattunkarey and the jacket of one of them violently stripped of and hung on a tree by the Tanna. Last week the wife of one of my Readers was assaulted by a Mohomedan and the barber above mentioned, and her jacket violently torn off and hung up in a tree with loud shouts of threats. My readers have been abused and threatened in several places and two days ago one of them was stopped and struck by Sirkar Peons in the road by Trevandrum itself. Most

...public throughfares and markets about Baularamapuram ...Neyattunkarey are now frequented by violent men who assault ...intimidate the Christians, whether men or women.

5. In particular I have now the honour to state that the ...ket which is held in rotation at the three places, Aramanoor, ...kadi and Tirupuram is entirely in the hands of a lawless ... so that the Christians cannot now show themselves there. ...the 15th and 19th instant that mob consisting of Soodras, ...ties, Mahomedans and other castes, to the number of about ..., visited the markets with the openly avowed purpose of ...lting the Christians. The mob then came on at a quick pace ...ed with sticks, bludgeons, and knives, and stood at the ...ance gate of the Chapel yard and called out to an oilman who ...es opposite to bring fire. The mob saw my Readers and others ...nding quitely inside, and did not assault the Mission Premises, ...after a while went off in a body to the north, but their threats ...still violent.

6. The chief men in exciting the mob are Kumara Pillay of Paulatta house in Aramanoor who I believe is a Sirkar employ as Superintendent of the Salt Store at Poovar. His son Ummini Pillay and the barber above named, who though tried and convicted of that assault in Aramanoor above mentioned was allowed to escape with so slight a punishment, that he has since assaulted the Reader's wife, and is now emboldened to greater violence. There are also some other leaders whose names I do not now know.

I have the honour etc.,
Sd/-
John Cox

~~XX~~

Letter from Rev. E. Lewis to the Resident: 21-1-1859

My dear Sir,

As I had occasion to write respecting the burning of one of my chapels, I did so, and addressed my letters to the Dewan and Peishkar, but learning from Mr. Baylis that you wish such communications to be addressed to you I herewith send you a copy of my letters to those functionaries.

The present disturbance has arisen between the Sudras and other high castes on the one hand, and the Shanars and other low castes on the other, and not between the heathen and Christian parts of the community as such. The Shanar population especially including the most wealthy and influential of that class both Protestant, Roman Catholic and Heathen are at present greatly oppressed especially by the Sudras. They are beaten unmercifully, their houses plundered and burnt, and some of them dreading their falling into the hands of the Sudras have had to flee for their lives. The Shanars in a respectful manner make their complaints to the authorities but those complaints are not entertained. One Saturday last a large number of the wealthiest Shanar families in South Travancore waited on the Dewan at Padmanabhapuram to lay their complaints before him, but if their account be true, they were unceremoniously dismissed because they wore the "upper cloth." "Some of us" they say "told him that we would become Mahomedans, but we were told that whatever religion we joined we shall not be allowed to wear the upper cloth, others said that they could not endure the present wrongs under which they were suffering and that unless those wrongs were redressed they must remove into Tinnevelly where there is liberty and justice, and they were told to go there if they chose."

They moreover say and I think with truth, "All the Government officers being high casteman are in league with the Sudras against us, consequently we have not the least chance of being heard in our own defence. There is not a Government officer from the Dewan to the Peon that feels inclined to aid us or to speak a word in our behalf."

It seems more over that the names of some hundreds of the Shanars and I may say of every Shanan in this neighbourhood who had anything to lose are taken down by the Sudras and handed to the authorities with the accusation of their being guilty of various crimes. Peons are accordingly sent to apprehend them and their catechists and others are obliged to have their homes and families defenceless and conceal themselves the best way they can. I am not less the friend of the Sudras than of the Shanars, but I cannot help thinking that the latter ought in fairness to have atleast an impartial hearing in the present dispute. This they

cannot have from the very nature of the case from the Native officials as the caste feelings of these are strong against them. "In the discharge of official duty" in the present case, the "official character" is unavoidably merged into the "high caste men", consequently the Government officers who have the whole case in their own hands, will true to their instinct conduct it after their own fashion and set it according to their own liking.

What I wish at present to notice is the fact that the Sudras and Government officials represent the practice as traceable to the "orders of the Missionaries" on the subject. To this I believe I may answer for the other Missionaries as well as for myself, that we have never recommended the practice to any one. The Christian converts at this place have never asked my permission to wear it nor have I tendered my advice to them on the subject.

The truth of the matter is that the practice had become so common that it had ceased to attract my notice, and I believe the same might be said of the people themselves. What we have hitherto recommended is the use of the jacket. (There are three sorts of jackets in use in Travancore. The one in use among the Mohamedans and Malialam women is called "kuppayam", the body and sleeves of it are long and it is tied in front with a string or tape. That in use among the high caste women is called the "Muditchi–ravakkay", the body and sleeves are short and it is tied in front with a knot. That in use among the Christian women is called simply "Ravakkay" — the body is long and the sleeves short and is tied in front with a string or tape.) It is the "Ravakkay" that the Christian women wear, the use of which was conceded to them by Proclamation years ago. Some of the officials I hear are putting their own construction on the Proclamation and say, that the Christian Shanar women are to wear it only on the Sunday when going to church, but at all other times they are to go naked from the waist upwards.

The Sudras and Government officials are fully aware that the use of the upper-cloth by the Shanars is to be rightly attributed to causes very different from that above mentioned. It suits their present purpose however to attribute it to the Missionaries.

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I have lately had a copy of a ballad shown me which people say is every where sung by the Sudras in the open streets. You will see from a translation of it, which I enclose what their sentiments and feelings are.

The wearing of the "upper–cloth" which has now become so general among the Shanars is owing as is well–known to the extensive intercourse subsisting between the Shanars of South Tinnevelly and the Shanars of South Travancore.

It is a common occurrence for Shanars from that District to take wives from this country and vice–versa. Hundreds also of men and women of this class spend six months of every year in the one country and six months in the other.

As far as I can ascertain and my means of doing so are extensive, they are firmly resolved, come what will, not discontinue it. This is especially the case with the Nadar families. These to a man are resolved not to yield the point and their wives seem from all accounts to be even more determined still. The contest may be prolonged and bloody feuds may take place, but the Shanars will be victorious in the end. Hitherto though much indignity has been shown them they have refrained from retaliating on the Sudras, they even boast of having kept the peace, though constantly broken by the Sudras, but how long they will continue so, no one knows.

Yours etc.,
Sd/—
E. Lewis.

Santhapooram,
21st January 1859.

XXI

Letter from Rev. John Cox to the Resident: 22—1—1859.

Trivandrum,
January 22, 1859

To

Lt. General William Cullen,
British Resident of Travancore and Cochin.

Sir,

In reference to my letter to your address of yesterday on the subject of the disturbed state of some parts of the country; and of the lawless conduct of some Sirkar servants and others, I have the

onour to state that I have this day received a letter from the Deputy Peishkar Annunda Row saying that orders have been sent o the Tassildar of Neyattancurey to enquire into the complaints which I made, and requiring the injured parties to point out the ffenders.

2. I shall attend to these instructions, and send the parties o the Tassildar; and at the same time I beg leave to solicit that, s the offenders are some of them men who have gathered large mobs, committed violence, and threatened the most serious acts of further violence; and as they have hitherto been only more excited by the notice which the Tassildar has taken of their offences, you will be pleased to issue orders to secure the complaining parties from the violence of those men; and to have a sufficient number of Peons or others to protect the witnesses; and to inspect the Tassildar's proceedings so as to secure justice adequate to the occasion. I trust that the extraordinary nature of the affairs will be received as my justification for again intruding on you.

I have etc.,
Sd/–
John Cox.

(True copy)
Resident Cullen.

XXII

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 25–1–1859

Trivandrum,
26th January 1859.

My dear Sir,

I beg to send you a copy of a statement, I have just received from the Rev. Mr. Russel. I beg your prompt enquiry, several instances of outrage there in detailed. Were they not brought to your notice previously? They should have been so by the Tovalah Tahsildar, in whose Taluk all of them appear to have occurred, and his neglect to report them may render his removal imperatively.

Yours etc.,
Sd/—
W. Cullen.

To

The Dewan of Travancore.

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Letter from Rev. James Russel to the Resident.

That on the 4th instant upwards of 200 Sudras and Vellalas of Talagoody led by Vythiyalingam Pillai, Neelan Pillai, Tengara Pillai, Mathavan Pillai, and Seeneya Pillai of Maramat Department at various times entered the houses of the poor Christians there by day and night with clubs, knives, &c., stripping the women of their jackets, tore off their clothes together with the most inexpressibly horrid deeds of kicking, beating &c., laid plans for the immediate destruction of the Catechist and school-master of the place with threats of setting their houses and the Chapel on fire. Consequently the Chapel is closed, the Catechist and the school-master have fled and the village is wholly deserted by the Christians.

Again on the 7th January the Sudras of Ereveyoor and Marungoor headed by the Paravathicar of their Padagy, Nallamadan Pillay of Marungoor, Sithambaram Pillai of Eraveyoor &c., amounting to not less than 500 in number came by day to Comarapooram with clubs, knives, swords etc., in search of Christians with the Catechist and his wife who through fear kept themselves out of the village. but finding Pakkiyanathan the Catechist of Alagappapooram, who happened to be there on a visit to his deceased mother-in-law, they seized him and beat him so cruelly that he bled through his nostrils and having sent him to custody forcibly entered the houses of Christians, broke and pillaged the furniture, dragged the poor women out of doors almost naked, tearing their clothes and jackets and committed the most obscence deeds which are easier to be imagined than to be described.

Moreover that on the 9th instant about 50 Sudras of Arambooly armed with weapons, having Soopoo Pillai, Maharaga Pillai, Pichandi Pillai, Andi Pillai &c., as leaders and crowding before the Chapel at the Christian village there, ordered the women to take their jackets, but at their refusal abused and beat them very severely stripping them of their clothes and threatened them with death if their chapel be opened. In consequence of

ich the Sunday service was stopped and the Catechist with his ily escaped from the riot by taking his flight beyond the line.

Again about 100 men of the same description led by Thandapootoo Pillai, and Soopoocotton of Mailcary, Thanoomalayaperooma Pillai and Sethamparam Pillai of Alageya Pandiyapuram, Narayana Pillai of Pothyoor and Sirkar Oorcanakan of Gnalam came to Sempenvilly on the 8th instant, made an assault upon the poor Christians there and upon the Catichist and his wife who on hearing the sound of the tumult at a distance escaped for life. Seeing this the mob pulled down the house of the Catechist, pillaged all the furnitures, jewels, fanams &c., belonging both to the Catechist and Christians, tore the books and beat the school-master and some of the people in a most cruel manner. And on the next day the same crowd having entered the chapel at Kadoopoothoor during the time of Service, drove out the Catechist and Congregation, tore the books to pieces, locked the Chapel and took away the key with them. Had not the Vellalas of Kadoopoothoor interfered they would have carried on their evil attempts to a higher degree.

On the 14th January another set of them proceeded farther to Titoovilly and Anditope having for their leaders Poothanatha Pillai, Mathevan Pillai, Vallimai Pillai, Anajan Pillai of Poothapandi, Vythiyalingom Pillai and Neelan Pillai of Talagoody &c., came by day against the catechist and school-master, broke the doors, pulled down the roofs, plundered all the furnitures and stripped some of the women's jewels.

On the 10th instant, about 50 Sudras of Aroomanallur under the command of Ananda Pillai, Sevaramakrishna Pillai, Senthaparoomal Pillai and Nager Pillai, came to the Catechist at Collantherootty and persuaded him not to preach the gospel any more there about nor open the chapel for service saying that they would give him ½ cottah of paddy every month if he would but obey them and at length they took and imprisoned a Christian who is not yet released.

Another party of Sudras about 30 in number from Sevamaddum, Thresannenkoppu, Koosathory &c., strictly ordered the Christians at Pooliyaddi and Kalloovantidill not to open the

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chapels any more and forced them to renounce the Christian Religion taking many of them to do Devaswom Ooliyam on Sunday and to work as slaves as was usual before the freedom of slavery. Besides this, they forced the school girls at Kalloovantidill while learning, to strip of their jackets and tore the books. This they did on the 10th January. They also watch now and then on the ways to prevent the people from going to Service.

On the 10th instant, at Mylaudy a few Sudras headed by Sivasubramonya Pillai, Mootha Pillai and Poothalingum Asary of Saintheanpoothur, Soontharalingum Pillai of Mylaudy &c., drove the Catechist and his wife from off the place and abused the women while going to the river for fetching water. Had the Vellalas of the above said place been not occasionally checked by Paroomal Pillai, Pariya Pillai and others of Wiravilly, they would have done more injuries.

That inconsequence of all this, many of the villages are wholly deserted by Christians and almost all the congregations are deprived of their catechists and schools and accordingly the Sunday and other services are stopped, the roads by which the Christians go to markets and other public places have been shut up and the Christians are here and there oppressed to become Heathens and forced to daub on their foreheads what is called "Holy Ashes".

XXIV

Letter from W. Cullen to T. Pycroft: 26-1-1859.

Sir,

Since my letter No. 7 of the 18th instant, no more acts of incendiarism have been reported to me; and the Dewan who was subsequently visited Nagercoil, Sooshendrum and Cape Comorin, appeared to consider that quiet had in general had been restored, and I in consequence some times since condemned the march of the additional party of the Nair Brigade.

2. A number of perpetrators of the outrage of the village of Tittevelly, alluded to in the 2nd para: of my letter have been apprehended and handed over to the criminal court for trial; but

...the late excited state of feeling I fear that perfect quiet ...not be depended on for some time to come without the utmost ...lance on the part of the police and other local authorities ...I believe that there are several cases of assault and interference ...the mission converts still remaining to be disposed by the ...wan.

No. 20. Order there on – No. 93, dated 7th February 1859.

To be recorded.

Sd/—
T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

XXV

Order of T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to Government dated 27th January 1859.

The Resident of Travancore reports the disturbed state of feeling prevalent in the 3 or 4 southern districts of the Sircar territory between portions of the Soodra and Shanar population.

2. The excitement appears to have arisen from some Hindoo Shanar women having lately assumed the right of covering the upper part of their portions with a cloth which is objected to by the Soodras as preventing a recognition of the caste.

3. Disturbances from a like cause broke out in the year 1829, on which occasion her highness the Ranee of Travancore, in her proclamation of 3rd February 1829 republished "as the only regulation in force in the matter." A previous Circular Order of 7th Edavam in the year 989 (1814) whereby "No women of paravres, shanars and others of that description were ever to be allowed to wear cloths on their bosoms as the Nair women; But was not prevented from wearing jackets, called Coopayam, such as were in use by the women of Christian converts and of some other caste.

4. From General Cullen's second letter it seems that several small schools, and chapels have been burnt by incendiaries, whom it has not been possible to trace. These outrages are supposed to have been perpetrated by the Soodras under the idea that the

hindu Shanars have the support and sympathy of the Chri converts from that caste: in their efforts to obtain the privilege wearing the upper cloth. A small thatched bungalow occasion occupied by the Resident at Nagercoil was burned on the instant and on the 14th a small village inhabited by the Sha in the Thovalah was fired by a party of Vellalers in day light, several of the perpetrators of this later outrage have been appr hended. The Government trust that they will be severe punished.

5. The Right Honourable, the Governor in Council hope that the present excitement will soon be allayed, and order res ored. The resident will be careful to give no countenance to the idea that the British Government of which he is the — represent ative, recognises any exclusive distinctions, or the right of any set of men to prevent others from following in all matters of social or domestic life, such course as they may see fit — provided it be not repugnant to public decency and morals. It will be his duty to impress these views on his Highness the Rajah and to point out to him such prohibitions and those contained in the circular order of May 1814, or in the proclamation of 3rd February 182 are unsuited to the present age, and unworth of an enlightene prince and that he is not to look for the support of British Government in any attempts to maintain them, as respects any class of his subjects.

Sd/–
T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

XXVI

Letter from Rev. James Russel to the Resident: 31-1-1859.

Moottam,
January 31, 1859.

My dear General Cullen,

I am very sorry to inform you that at least one of my chapels has been burnt. It was in the village of Kalooventidal situated in the Paddy Fields between Tittoovilly and Kadakkery. It seems to have been set on fire late in the evening of Saturday the 29th instant. But nothing, so far as I am aware, is known as

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who has committed this crime. The Reader or Catechist is of those who had been compelled through threats of violence quit his station. He had returned on the afternoon of Saturday and is stated to have been asleep in his house close by the chapel when he was awoke by the loud and continuous barking of his dog. On looking out he saw that the Southern end of the chapel was on fire. He then alarmed the villagers who came together but soon found that they could do nothing to stop the progress of the fire. I am given to understand that the Tahsildar and Parvatthikarar of that District are aware of what has taken place. But as I am here at a distance on account of ill-health, I do not know what steps they may be taking to discover the guilty parties. I therefore take the liberty of bringing the subject to your notice and of requesting you to give orders that strict enquiry be speedily instituted to discover and bring to punishment the guilty. Hoping that you are well.

Believe me &c.,
Sd/—
James Russel.

P. S. I propose writing to the Deputy Peishkar on the subject.

(True copy)

Sd/–
W. Cullen,
Resident.

XXVII

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 1—2—1859

Resident's Office,
Trivandrum,
1st February 1859.

No. 212

To

The Dewan of Travancore.

Sir,

I beg to forward to you copy of a Note from the Rev. Mr. Russel reporting the burning of a chapel of his between Tittivilly and Kuddakery. I hope you may already have had a report and directed the necessary investigation. The Tahsildar should immediately proceed to the spot and should he not promptly succeed

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in tracing the cause of the fire it may be necessary for the Peti... to proceed there. Perhaps mere moderate rewards offered f... information it might be found successful. The whole of the... acts of incendiarism should be speedily reported upon.

I have etc.,

Sd/-
W. Cullen,
Resident.

XXVIII

Letter from the Missionaries to the Resident
7-2-1859.

To

The Lieutenant General Cullen,
Resident of Travancore.

Sir,

We have the honour to forward to you a petition intended for His Highness the Rajah, which we trust you will do us the favour to present to His Highness with as little delay as possible. We have further to request that you will kindly accompany the petition with your own recommendation in favour of the objects which it seeks to accomplish.

We have &c.,

Sd/-
James Russel
John Abbs
John Cox
Ebenezer Lewis
Frederick Baylis
John Joll Dennis.

7 February 1859.

XXIX

The Petition of the Missionaries of the L. M. S. to the King of Travancore

The Respectful Petition of the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society, stationed in South Travancore, to His Highness the Rajah of Travancore. May it please your Highness.

1. We, the undersigned missionaries of the London Missionary Society stationed in South Travancore, take the liberty

...dressing your Highness on the present disturbed state of the ...cts in which we severally reside, and beg to inform your ...ness:-

2. That, for the last few weeks the Christian converts ...der our care have been subject to much molestation, chiefly ...m men of the Soodra caste; that many of them, women as well ...men, have been beaten, their cloths torn off, and other indigni- ...es shown to them; that our catechists and school masters ...ecially have been ill-treated being still seized, bound, beaten ...d imprisoned, their houses plundered and burned, and their ...milies obliged to leave their homes and seek protection where ...ey can; that many of our congregation are now unable to meet ...n Sabbath days, according to the usages of our holy religion, ...nd worship had in our usual manner, as some of their spiritual ...achers are in prison, others concealing themselves from their ...rsuers, and others have left the country, and that some of our ...hools also are broken up for similar reasons.

3. That the Soodras, in their lawless proceedings as above ...entioned, are not only encouraged and abetted by some of the ...wer grades of Government officials, as we can prove by facts, ...ut that these officials themselves are the chief instigators and ...erpetrators. Of the above-mentioned wrongs and indignities; ...at they plead authority from your Highness for what—they are ...us doing, and either misunderstand or willfully misrepresent the ...roclamation of Her majesty, the Queen, as though for the future ...ll protection were withdrawn from European Missionaries and ...their converts, and such missionaries prohibited from carrying on their work; and that they openly avow that their object in all this is to destroy the Christian cause in Travancore, and restore society to that state in which it existed previous to the year 1809.

4. That we, the missionaries, are also the object of intense hatred to the Government officials above-mentioned; that we cannot venture, during the present commotions, to visit our congregations and schools in some parts of our respective districts; that our lives are menaced and our dwellings threatened to be destroyed by fire that our families, inconseqence, are kept in a constant state of alarm, and that not only as missionaries but as Europeans also we

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are openly reviled and held up to contempt by the Government officials aforesaid at the police stations; and other Sircar officials.

5. That we beg to remind your Highness that such a state of disorder, violence, and suffering has not existed during any previous period of your Highness's reign; that the present violent opposition made to Christianity and its professors is in direct contradiction to the religious liberty conceded to all classes for your Highness's subjects by previous proclamations; that the Christian part of the community have not been known at any time to use violence to any Hindoo sects as such, or interfere with them in the performance of their religious rites, but that on the contrary they have always been among the most orderly and best behaved for your Highness's subjects, and are yearly becoming more intelligent, industrious and prosperous, and therefore contributing more than any other class to the prosperity of your Highness.

6. That as far we are able to ascertain, the origin of the present disturbances is to be traced to the dissatisfaction of the landed proprietors at the emancipation of their slaves, announced by proclamation in the year 1855; that finding it impracticable to procure from the Government a repeal of that proclamation their disappointment now demands some compensation for the loss of dignity connected with their social status which they imagine has been caused by the aforesaid proclamation; that the most practical method, and one conformable with the laws of Travancore, of repairing that loss which has suggested itself to their minds, is to restore in all their entirely social superiority and ancient domination over the "lower orders", that, as this superiority is most patent in the style of dress to be adopted, the "higher orders", including the above mentioned Sircar officials who all belong to these orders, have taken the law into their own hands, and are now compelling all classes below them to adopt the style of the dress prescribed to them by the ancient laws of the country, which consists, as your Highness is aware, of a single cloth of coarse texture, to be worn alike by males and females no lower than the knee and no higher than the waist.

7. That the style of dress just mentioned being incompatible with the modesty and decorum which the Christian religion inculcates and promotes, a former Resident of Travancore procured from the Government to all Christian women below the Soodra caste the liberty of wearing a jacket; that many Christian women have late years (not from any opposition to the Government, but simply from the love of appearing decent in public) been in the habit of wearing also the upper cloth, some of whom are expert workers of "pillow lace," specimens of which, worked with silver and gold thread, your Highness was pleased to order for the "Great Exhibition" of 1851, and which procured for the makers a bronze medal; that the assumption of an upper cloth even by such women, all of whom have received a good education in our schools, and deserving as they would be deemed by all enlightened nations to wear it, has not been at any time encouraged by us, on account of its being known as contrary to the laws of the country, and that even now, at all our mission stations when advice is given on the subject, it is to the effect that it being discontinued; that the charge therefore preferred against us of aiding and abetting the converts in their opposition to the Government on this point is founded either on misapprehension or it will.

8. That the statement, now so often repeated, that "the Christian women have taught the heathen women to wear the upper cloth," will appear to your Highness to be incorrect, in as much as there are many rich heathen Shanar families who have from time previous to the introduction of Protestant Christianity to this country been in the habit of wearing it, in as much also as hundreds of heathen families of the Shanar class, who annually spend half the year in Tinnevelly, where they are allowed without molestation to wear it, return for the remained of the year to the eastern and southern parts of Travancore, where they continue the same style of dress; that other women of the same class living in the numerous and scattered villages where these reside, have gradually followed their example, till at length it has become the rule and not the exception in those parts to wear it; and that therefore the custom of assuming the upper cloth by the heathen women of the Shanar class finds its origin among themselves, and not among the Christian converts of the same class.

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9. That in reference to the present disturbance, we are of opinion that the Dewan is most anxious to suppress it, but that he is greatly thwarted by the lower grades of Government officials, whom it seems he has not the power to dismiss at will; that whatever may be the extent of power in this respect with which the Dewan may be entrusted by your Highness for the conduct of public affairs in times of peace, we are of opinion that a temporary extension of his present powers is highly advisable for the speedy and effectual suppression of the present disturbance.

10. That we have therefore to entreat that our Highness will be pleased to grant the Dewan, with as little delay as possible, that increase of power which the present emergency calls for; that your Highness will further be pleased to signify, in a way to be understood by all, your disapproval of the manner in which the native Christian portion of your subjects are at present oppressed, plundered, and imprisoned without just cause, by another portion of your subjects, including especially Athigaries and their subordinates; that your Highness will especially visit with your displeasure every attempt made to keep our chapels closed, and to disturb the public worship of the Christians by peons apprehending them and their teachers during the hours of worship on Sabbath days; and finally, that your Highness will cause a due and strict observance by all the Government officials of the police regulations with regard to the arrest and subsequent treatment of those who are charged with offences against the law, and this, we beg to assure your Highness, will call forth still more abundantly the prayers of your Christian subjects on behalf of your Highness, to our Almighty Saviour, the "King of Kings and Lord of Lords."

We have & c.,
Sd/–
James Russel,
John Abbs,
John Cox,
Ebenezer Lewis,
Frederick Baylis,
John Joll Dennis.

PS: March 12. No reply has been Vouchsafed to the above, nor have any of the grievances complained of been redressed.

XXX

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 10–2–1859

Trivandrum,
10th February 1859.

My dear Sir,

I have just been reading over the Deputy Peishkar's Police report 1st on the combination of Shanars &c., of Agasteeswaram and Tinnevelly, 2nd of the Kotar rioters, 3rd of the burning of Mr. Russel's chapel, but I do not see a single case of assault by either Shanars, Sudras or Christians nor of the chapel burning—not withstanding the numerous cases that have occurred. There must be something very defective, I fear, in the Police management, the cause not discovered at first, subsequent enquiries seem altogether to be neglected—would not the offer of rewards assist in discovering the incendiaries.

I hope independent of a formal report that you may be able to afford explanation upon the various specific charges of outrage made by the different Missionaries.

Yours etc.,
Sd/–
W. Cullen.

To

The Dewan of Travancore.

XXXI

Letter from Rev. F. Baylis to the Resident: 10—2—1859

Neyyoor, February 10, 1859.

To

Lt. General W. Cullen,
British Resident.

Sir,

In my letter of the 4th ultimo I had the honour to bring before you the case of burning down our Mission chapel at Cullengully in the Maycode Athigarom, Calculam District.

2. In consequence of the complaint there made, an investigation took place in the Police and in the Huzur Cutcherry, and the case was sent to the Criminal Court at Nagercoil.

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3. On the 1st instant, I gave Vakaluthnamah to my Va
written according to the regulations, but not signed by my witne
as I had on two previous occasion, sent such documents with
the signatures of any witnesses, and they had been accepted. T
was not received by the Court, and one was required with
signatures of witnesses. I accordingly sent one so signed, this
was not received, on the ground that the Court required so
petition addressed by me to the Court. I then sent them anoth
Vakaluthnamah—a copy of which I enclose—in which I referre
to the complaint I had laid before you, giving the date of th
letter. Today this has been returned to me by my Vakil, accom
panied by a peon of the court, but I am not even informed wha
kind of document is still required. I do not think this is the way
in which a case of arson, and that a place of divine worship,
especially at such a time as this, should be trifled with.

4. In my letter to you of the 4th ultimo I appealed to yo
as a British subject, in a case in which the property destroyed i
the property of English men and the complaint was entered int
in the Police, I cannot see that I am required to send any petition
on the subject to a native court, but I await your instructions.

5. I must express my conviction that all this has been done
chiefly by some of the writers (who appear to have far more power
in the court than they are entitled to) in order to cause delays
and help the defendants. Two of the defendants were put in jail
when they were first sent to court, but have, I fear, been since
released.

I have etc.,
Sd/–
F. Baylis.

P. S. May I be allowed also to state my conviction that there is no likeli-hood of justice being done in the case of the 12 chapels burnt down in these parts, and the other lawless acts committed, chiefly by Sudras, unless a special commission of able and impartial men, presided over by a Christian Judge, be appointed to try them. The Criminal Court is already crowded with cases, notwithstanding which, the 1st Judge has, I hear, just left for 12 or 15 days furlough.

XXXII.

The Dewan's Report to the Resident: 12—2—1859.

I have the honour to submit to you a concise report on the
in, progress, and the suppression of the recent disturbances in
th Travancore, adding a few observations which the subject
gests.

2. You are aware that in the Malabar year 1004 correspond-
with 1829 Christian era, Her Highness the Ranee, with the
currence of the British Resident, issued a proclamation per-
ting the use of a jacket called coopayam on the part of Christian
anar women and prohibiting the use of the upper cloth on the
rt of Hindoo Shanar females. In contravention of the provisions
this proclamation the Shanar women, particularly those of con-
rts to Christianity, had, it appears, began, though not promi-
ntly to wear a dress similar to that are worn by Soodras and
ahmin females and this, you are aware, occasionally gave rise to
e troubles *ere* this. About the time of the appearance of Her
Majesty's proclamation, either the practise became more general
nd conspicucus or the Soodras felt more encouraged to resist it,
r what was perhaps more likely both the causes operated together.
Both parties became equally determined. The Shanars, probably
nfluenced, in a measure, by the recent events in the contagious
istrict of Tinnevelly, would by all means bring the upper clothes in
o use. The Christian Shanars appear to have taken the lead
hough they had less cause for complaint, the proclamation in
uestion permitting their women to use jackets, which had been on
ll hands acknowledged as a more decent covering than the upper
cloth. But they probably desired a total abolition of all restrictions
as to dress and calculated upon the sympathies and support of the
European missionaries residing among them. The Soodras forming
the majority of the population under the influence of caste feelings
which you know, have least relaxed in force in Travancore and
feeling that they had the proclamation of the Sirkar on their side
and probably interpreting Her Majesty's proclamation too much
in their favour, equally resolved to put down the innovations

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attempted by the Shanars: from this state of feelings the steps open disturbances were not many.

3. As the Shanars took it up themselves to infringe the proc mation of 1004 M. E., so the Soodras took it upon themselves t punish such infringement. The Shanar women were attacked wh they openly appeared with what was considered the high cas system. The Shanars on the other hand, did not confine them selves to a bare defence; they too, retaliated the outrage on Soodr women. Hostile feelings gathered strength, a chapel had bee burnt down in Maycode on the 27th December last. An affra occurred in the Kotar Bazaar on the 30th idem. A more seriou one, assuming the dimensions of a riot, also followed at th great market of Erneel on the 10th ultimo. The panic, it seem was great, and men on both sides were said to have been severel ill-treated and severely wounded, though only a few appeared be fore the Cutcherry with formal complaints, the others havin probably been deferred by the consciousness of misconduct. O the same night another chapel and the Residency Bungalow a Nagercoil were destroyed by fire: evidently at the hands of in cendiaries. Between the 11th and 16th two more chapels a different places shared the same fate, two mission schools wer similarly destroyed, a mob of Soodras assaulted a Shanar and hi wife at Tittoovillay and his house and 27 houses adjoining it wer burnt down. Other houses and chapels were said to have bee openly threatened. It was reported that the Shanars of th Agasteeswaram district were raising men and money, and proposed combined and systematic resistance to Sirkar authority and th plunder of the villages and towns. It was also clear that they have also solicited the co–operation of the Shanars residing in the distric of Tinnevelly in the vicinity of our Frontier.

4. The First information I had of the existence of unsatis factory feelings was when I happened to be at Padmanabhapuram about the end of December last. Number of Shanars and Soodras with Lubbays waited on me, and complained against each other on the subject of the upper cloth. The police officer of Ernee also wrote to me on the subject. The Deputy Peishkar in charg of the Southern Division, too thought it desirable that some kind of public warning was necessary. It is obvious that as long as the

oclamation in 1829 is in force, (the Shanars both Hindoos and ristians, are bound to conform to its provisions that no section subjects can be permitted to infringe a law affecting the great jority of the people on the ground that, in their opinion, the w ought to be changed; that the only legitimate course open to m is to continue to submit to it and formally to the Sirkar for change with such facts and arguments as they have to urge in ir favour. On these considerations a public warning was given the 27th of December last to the effect; the existing rules and ages should be respected; that if any class of people desired a ange, they should represent the case to the Sirkar and await its cision, that on the other hand on no account should breaches the peace be caused.) For a short while there was an appearance a quiet; but soon after the Peishkar in the south reported the otar affray and suggested that the police should be strengthened d that a detachment of sepoys should be sent down to over awe ders were forthwith given accordingly; and a detachment of e Nair Brigade consisting of 100 rank and file with the usual mplement of commissioned and non-commissioned were sent at ce. Some members of the L. M. S. residing at the south arrived Trivandrum and personally represented to yourself and to me e state of matters there. I had the permission of His Highness d yourself to go to the scene of disturbances.

5. On the 14th ultimo I reached Padmanabhapuram. A tachment of the Nair Brigade had already arrived there the 11th. I was followed by Captain Dally, who was put in mmand of all the troops in southern districts. The troops were oved where mischief was apprehended. The police was further rengthened in different places; auxiliary police officers were ppointed to keep the peace and to speedily inquire into, and spose of police cases, which were expected to be numerous at at time. Some minor Sirkar officials who appeared to have cted improperly were suspended from employment. Some of the aders of both parties concerned in these disturbances were pprehended. Other measures too were taken with a view to eserve order. The determination of the Sirkar to exact implicit bedience to its authority from all classes of its subjects soon come known; and I am happy to add that without the necessity f resorting to extreme measures having arisen, tranquillity has

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been restored. I have the pleasure to acknowledge here the zealous exertions of the Deputy Peishkar, Shungoony Menon on this occasion.

6. Though matters have assumed a very serious aspect, I am glad to be able to state that the mischief already done is far from being considerable. I beg to enclose a memorandum showing the probable value of the chapels and schools destroyed by fire. It is to be observed that the roofs of the buildings in question are all thatched. No loss of life or limb has occurred anywhere.

7. As regard to future arrangements I think it desirable that the detachment of the Nair Brigade now in south should continue there for some little time longer. The additional police establishment also should be continued. A re-arrangement of officials in certain localities will be necessary, about which however, I may write to you at another time. I may also submit in a very few days my plans for better organising the police of the whole country.

8. The authorities of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of the altered times and circumstances and satisfy all parties as far as it may be possible to do so.

Memorandum showing the probable value of the chapels and schools destroyed by fire.

Name		Probable value, Fanams
1. Maycode Chapel	..	144
2. Vadakankurray Chapel	..	$520\frac{3}{4}$
3. Vallathottathoo	..	$100\frac{3}{4}$
4. Aroomanay Chapel	..	8
1. Arrappovay School	..	$112\frac{1}{2}$
2. Coonnacaud School	..	$26\frac{1}{2}$
Total Fanams	.	$912\frac{1}{2}$

Huzzoor Cutcherry, Trivandrum,
12 February 1859.

Sd/–
Madhava Row, Dewan.

True copies

Sd/–
W. Cullen,
Resident.

XXXIII

...r from W. Cullen to Thomas Pycroft, Chief Secretary to ...ernment, dated 16th February 1859.

I have the honour to transmit copy of a report by Dewan ...Travancore, on the late disturbances in the south, between ...dra and Shanar population.

2. Although the wearing of cloth over the upper part of ...person by the Shanar women apears to be the more immediate ...se of the disturbances, there has, I think, for several years past ...n a growing feeling of disquietude on the part of the Soodras ...the innovation of the Shanar both Christian and heathen. ...eed in a recent petition from the missionaries in the south to ...Highness the Rajah, they distinctly admit that "the present ...turbances are to be traced to the dissatisfied landed proprietors ...the emancipation of their slaves announced by proclamation in ...55."

3. I believe this to have been one source, because the ...ssionaries then also availed themselves of that partial emanci...tion to endeavour to make converts to Christianity, and I know ...at it led to much excitement; for in travelling about in those ...stricts at the period in question, I was frequently visited by ...rge number of proprietors, complaining bitterly that they lost the ...ervices of their slaves on Sundays and that their slaves had in ...other respects proved very refractory.

4. Another subject of irritation has been the exemption on ...he part of all Shanars attached to the mission of Oolium duties on ...Sundays, and from work connected with Hindoo festivals or ...places of worship.

5. It is not only the exemption of Shanar Christians but of those in mere connection with the mission, for it will be observed in Travancore Calendar for 1859, p. 82, that there are baptised......2168, unbaptixed 14572, yet the latter have all the exemptions enjoyed by the baptized.

https://archive.org/details/@jebindp

6. Under the Church Mission at Cottayam the Baptized are 2000; Inquirers, 1926.

As to the possibility of presently effecting any changes in the existing usage in regard to the wearing of the cloth, I fear that much difficulty may be expected; the Nair troops could hardly be expected to afford much aid in such a cause for there are no greater sticklers for the usage than the Nair Brigade, who are themselves proprietors of land in Nanjenaud, and the greater part of them related to the residents there. In fact most of the brigade reside some 15 or 20 miles distant from the capital where they occupy themselves with cultivating when off duty. They are also constantly employed on fatigue duties in the pagodas and palaces at Trivandrum, which adds to their caste prejudices.

7. The prohibition too is not confined to the south of Travancore, but extends I believe, through the whole of Malabar Coast as far as Cannanore.

8. In regard to the present state of the south, although no outrages have of late been repeated, there is still much disquietude and a large party of them have recently arrived at Trivandrum to complain.

XXXIV

Minute by the President dated 28 February 1859.

It is evident from the report that a very excited state of feeling continues in South Travancore and that it requires very careful treatment.

2. The difficulty is evidently complicated by the fact that the differences of religious principles and caste habits are mixed up with social and pecuniary interests. The Shanars on becoming Christians claim privileges which partly, if not entirely free them from many of the duties which their state of serfdom, if not of slavery previously entailed upon them and on these advantages occurring to the Christian converts, the heathen Shanars evidently aspire to the enjoyment of the same changes, though without conversion.

3. The Soodras on the other hand, look with great jealousy on these charges, not only on account of their placing those whom they considered degraded race in a better social position; but also because they themselves become losers by the emancipation to some extent of their serfs or slaves from some of their duties.

4. The difficulties are of that description which always must exist in heathen countries where Christian missionary enterprise is permitted.

5. Purer manners and more refined manners will be inculcated, and on their being confined by practice among the population, they are pretty sure to clash with the older customs and habits of the country.

6. The British Government has now for some years permitted missionary enterprise though it has carefully abstained from taking any part in it and it cannot now withdraw from the position it has taken up.

7. The Resident and Dewan must be urged to suggest such measures to the Rajah as will secure individual rights and privileges and at the same time as far as possible protect the interests of all parties.

8. I am happy to see that the Dewan in para 8 of his report, contemplates in making modifications in the proclamation of 1829, and it would be advisable that a report of the proposed changes should be made to this Government at an early day.

9. I regret that this Government should not have been able to investigate more fully in the state of affairs in Travancore at a time when there existed much less cxcitement that at present and when changes might have been effected with much less probability of serious embarrassment, but the power has not been accorded to it.

10. I had hoped that the appointment of the new Dewan would have tended to smooth down the irritation which had existed so long and in many respects, he has no doubt effected more improvements in the administration and state of the country, but it is

evident that the fire was smouldering and that the main caus[e] irritation is as rife as ever.

11. In order to show that there has been every endeavo[ur] during the period of my Government to enter upon the attempt [to] improve the state of affairs of Travancore, I am now desirous [of] bringing on record, the memorandum which accompanies th[is] minute in order that the proceedings which have taken place ma[y] be seen at one view.

Sd/–
Harris.

XXXV

Minute by W. A. Morehead

I quite agree that there is nothing further for this Governme[nt] to do. I observe that the Dewan makes no allusion made b[y] Colonel Munro, wherein permission was given to all Shanar female[s] to wear jackets, perhaps, para 2 of his report, he ignores altogethe[r] the existence of such a custom as he states, "The Christia[n] Shanar had less cause to complaint the proclamation in questio[n] permitting their women to use jackets" plainly thereby indicatin[g] that other than Christian Shanars could not use jackets.

Sd/–
W. Morehead.

XXXVI

Minute by Walter Elliot dated 3rd March 1859.

The Dewan's report appears to be a temporate and fa[ir] statement.

2. I do not think that any further disturbance or breach o[f] the peace need now be apprehended.

3. I have confidence that the Dewan will take a liberal an[d] enlightened view of the matter in dispute and with the support o[f] the Resident will lend his influence to the introduction of a mo[re] tolerant recognition of individual rights.

4. The work of amelioration must be gradual, but it cannot stop the pride and intolerance of case prejudice prevail with greater intensity in Travancore than in any other part of India.

5. So I do not see that more is required at present than to reiterate and maintain the views communicated to the Resident in Extract Minutes Consultation, 27th January 1859, No. 75, para 5.

6. As far as I can learn the present excitement has nothing to do with the question of slavery.

7. The Shanars though an inferior caste, are not outcastes, like the serf population, cherumars, polayars, Nayadis, comprehended under the general term of Serumakkal.* These are considered to be almost beyond the pale of humanity and as probably as much despised by the Shanars, as the Shanars are by the Nair and the higher castes of Soodras.

8. The privileges for which the Shanars (who are the same as Tiyars of Malabar and the Toddy drawers of Madras) contend, seem to be nothing more than social distinctions affecting particular sections of the population only, and by no means of general acceptation.

9. The Nair who comprise of the most influential, and I believe the most numerous of the Soodra population discard the use of clothing for the upper part of the person as completely as Shanars, and from Lieutenant Cannor's Memoir on the Survey of Travancore, this would appear the practice among the higher classes generally.

10. It is not likely therefore that the concession of a larger degree of individual liberty of action to the Shanars will meet with much opposition.

11. It must be borne in mind that the degree of interference exercised by the representative of the British Government in the affairs of Travancore and Cochin have now become so large as to

* These wretched creatures keep up the same pride of caste among themselves and observe similar native distinctions of purity and defilement of their higher born neighbours.
Report on Slavery by Law Commission, p. 209.

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deprive the nominal rules of all real responsibility and to fix the credit or discredit of the administration principally on the British Government.

12. Of the wisdom or policy of such a state of things, this is not the place to speak, but such being the fact the local Government must as a matter of local necessity, insist upon the observance of a more accepted system of toleration, that if it had merely to bring, its influence to bear on an independent state.

13. This I think has been done, as far as at present is necessary by the orders above referred to. I would now only add to them by desiring the Resident to report at an early date on the means proposed by the Dewan for affording relief to the Shanar population.

Sd/–
Walter Elliot.

XXXVII

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 8–3–1859

No. 498

Resident's Office,
Trivandrum,
8th March 1859.

To

The Dewan of Travancore.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward to you an original letter from the Rev. Mr. Baylis, and I have to request your earnest and prompt attention to the several serious statements therein made, charging various Sirkar servants, both Police and Judicial with highly irregular and partial conduct, bearing on the proceedings now at issue connected with the recent disturbances.

2. I hope you will at once call for the Erneel Police proceedings as requested by Mr. Baylis, in order to compare the disposition with the Tahsildar's report to the Criminal Court, and I beg to have an early report on each of the several points enumerated by Mr. Baylis, at the same time requesting that you will at once issue such orders as may be necessary to the several Sirkar officers whether Police or Judicial, so that there may be as little delay as practicable in bringing all the trials to a close.

I have etc.,

Sd/–
W. Cullen,
Resident.

XXXVIII

Letter from R. Simson, Under Secretary to the Government of India, Dated 9 March 1859.

Sir,

I am directed by His Excellency the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, dated the 6th February 1850, No. 98, and of your previous Despatches noted on the margin;* relating to the affairs of Travancore.

2. In your letter, dated the 15th August 1856, the Madras Government urge the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the state of Travancore, to conduct a minute and searching scrutiny into the entire system of the administration in all its branches, into the present condition of the country, and into the past proceedings of the Dewan and Resident.

3. But in the letter to your address, dated the 12th October 1855 No. 637, the Government of India declared its opinion that, under the Treaties with Travancore, the Governor General in Council has no right to interfere in the affairs of Travancore, by Commission of Inquiry or otherwise, unless there be reason to apprehend failure in the funds destined to defray the expenses of the permanent military force. It has not been shown that any such apprehension is entertained.

4. By the 9th paragraph of the treaty, however, the Rajah is bound at all times to pay the utmost attention to such advice as he shall receive from the Resident, with a view to the administra-

* Foreign Department No. 251 dated 15 August 1856; No. 158 dated 23 Feb. 1857; No. 376, dated 13 May 1859.

tion of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, or any other subjects connected with the advancement of the interests and happiness of the people and the mutual welfare of both states. The Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 30th April 1856, paragraph 25 says: "whether the petitions which reached you were genuine or not, the Resident in his Comment on them, says enough to show that the statements they contain or not without some foundation; and considering how serious were the imputations they cast upon the conduct of the Chief Officer of the State, and on the character of the Resident; as tacitly sanctioning the irregularities complained of, Lieutenant General Cullen was bound to furnish you either with a complete refutation of the allegations, if such could have been afforded, or with a report of the measures he had taken for correcting the abuses." And in the 35th paragraph, the Court declare that a comprehensive investigation is absolutely necessary, and that the Commission should carry on their inquiries independently of the Resident, who is himself one of the parties under accusation.

5. Holding then to the opinion already expressed by the Government of India in the letter to your address, dated the 12th October 1855 No. 637, it does not appear to His Excellency the Governor General in Council desirable to make investigation by means of Commission; but the events now passing in Travancore, considered with the state of things described in the papers from which passages have been quoted, show that investigation should not be delayed.

6. I am accordingly directed to state, that although; as at present informed, the Government of India is not prepared to resort to a Commission, the Government of Madras is at liberty to suspend the Resident, and to appoint another person to officiate in his room. The officiating Resident should be directed to report on the state of the country as soon as he can do so confidently. If this state be such as has been described, he should further report how far Lieutenant General Cullen is answerable for it; how far the Durbar has departed from the provision of the treaty under which they were bound to follow the Resident's advice; and what measures he would propose with a view to the restoration of order.

7. His Excellency the Governor General in Council desires me also to remind the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, how necessary it is that the person appointed to afficiate as Resident should be a person of tried and known sound judgement, and one who may be expected to obtain the confidence of all parties.

XXXIX

Order of T. Pycroft dated 12th March 1859

The Resident of Travancore submits a report from the Dewan Madhava Row on the origin, progress and suppression of the recent disturbances in South Travancore.

2. The Report appears to the Government to be a temperate and a fair statement and they hope that no further disturbance or breach of the peace need now be apprehended.

3. For the closing paragraph of his report, the Dewan states, that it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances, and satisfy all parties, as far as it may be possible to do so.

4. Such proceedings is undoubtedly most desirable. With respect however, to this proclamation it may be observed, that the Dewan speaks as though, under it, the use of the coopyum or jacket was confined to the Christian Shanars only, whereas that proclamation expressly refers, as "the only regulation in force in the matter", to the Order of Colonel Munro, 7 Yadavom, Year 989 (May 1814) which explicitly states that the wearing of jackets: such as were in use by the women of Christian converts, was not prohibited to the women of Paravres, Shanars and others of that description. If then the women of the Hindoo Shanars have of late been prevented from wearing jackets, they have not even been allowed the full benefit of the proclamation itself.

5. The Government will hope to learn at an early date, what arrangement has been made by the Dewan. The principle on which it should proceed has already been laid down by Government in the last paragraph of extract Minutes of Consultations, 27th

January 1859. General Cullen will inform the Government what communication he has held with his highness the Rajah in furtherance of the instructions then conveyed to him. The degree of interference which for many years past has been exercised by the representative of the British Government in the affairs of Travancore, is so large, and his intervention *so general*, that the credit or discredit of the administration greatly rest with the British Government, and it has thereby become their duty to insist upon the observance of a system of toleration, in a more decided manner than they would be at liberty to adopt, if they had merely to bring their influence to bear an independent state.

6. Resolved, that the memorandum referred to by the Right Honorable the President in the concluding paragraph of his minute be brought on record.

Sd/–
T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

"The Christian Shanars appear to have taken the lead, though they had less cause for complaint the proclamation in question permitting their women to use jackets."

XL

Letter from Rev. E. Lewis to the Resident:
16—3—1859.

To
Lt. General W. Cullen,
British Resident of Travancore.

Sir,

I beg to submit to your consideration an account drawn up by Josiah, the Catechist, of his false imprisonment and of the cruelty, injustice and disgrace done to him by the Parpatti-caran of Parakkay.

2. I beg to inform you with respect to the above that Josiah, the Catechist has appealed to the Dewan for redress; that the Dewan has sent him for that purpose to the Peishkar; that the Peishkar has sent him to have his case investigated to the Tassildar, an officer by whom also he had been imprisoned and kept in irons. This mode of procedure to obtain justice, I beg leave to say, I regard as nothing less than a studied bambooying of the complainant and tantamount to a shelving of the matter altogether.

3. My chief object in furnishing you with the above account is to draw your attention to Para 2 and to the language used in it against me in common with other Europeans. It seems I am doomed never to forget the disgrace I was subjected to at Susindram, as I am frequently reminded of it by messages brought me of the boasting of the authorities in those quarters, that I had been well thrashed, that a mock trial had been got up for appearance sake but that all ended in smoke, that no official lost his situation on account of it, and that the principle is now established that Europeans may be insulted on the public roads, beaten and their Palkees smashed by Government officials without the least fear of those officials losing their situation.

4. I have to request that you will, as the Representative of Her Majesty the Queen, as the conservation of British influence, and the guardian of British honour in Travancore, called to account the Parpatti-caren for his approbrious language.

I have &c.,

Santhapooram,
March 16, 1859.

Sd/–E. Lewis.

(True copy)

Sd/–
W. Cullen,
Resident.

XLI

Letter from T. Pycroft to the Resident: 17–3–1859

Sir,

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council observes from the "Madras Daily Times" of this date, that a petition addressed to His Highness the Rajah of Travancore by the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society stationed in South Travancore, was forwarded to you under date the 7th ultimo,

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for the purpose of being presented to the Rajah with as little delay as possible, with a request that you would accompany it with your own recommendation in favour of the objects which it seeks to accomplish. It appears from a post script, dated the 12th instant, that no reply has been vouchsafed to this petition, nor have any of the grievances complained of been redressed.

2. I am accordingly directed to inquire, 1st, whether such a petition has been received by you? 2nd If so, whether it has been presented by you to the Rajah? 3rd, If it has been, what action it has been proposed to take on it? 4th, If the petition has been received and not presented, why not? 5th, If received and presented, but no action proposed why? 6th, Whether the receipt of the petition has been acknowledged to the missionaries; if not, why not?

3. The Government desires that you will forward by express an immediate answer to the several inquiries above specified.

Sd/–
T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

XLII

Extract from a letter from the Rev. Baylis to the Resident: 19–3–1859

I understand that upto the present time, two of the defendants in the case of burning Vadacancurry Chapel, viz., Cochen Pillay and Minnyan, a Mussalman, have never been apprehended. The other defendants are, I believe, all at the Court, but tho' the witnesses for the complaint have given their depositions, there are none of them put in confinement. This would not perhaps be of much consequence, if they did not abuse their liberty by plotting how they may give trouble to the witnesses for the complaint.

Cochin,
24th March 1859.

(True Extract)

Sd/–
Resident.

To
The Dewan of Travancore
for information.

XLIII

Letter from W. Cullen to T. Pycroft: 23–3–1859.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt, yesterday forenoon, of your letter, No. 178 of the 17th instant.

2. In reply I beg to state that the petition in question was duly transmitted to His Highness the Rajah on the 12th ultimo, and I beg to annex a copy of my letter which complained it.

3. I left Trivandrum on the 3rd instant on route for this place in consequence of the absence on leave of Major Drury.

4. At the date of my quitting Trivandrum, the 3rd instant, I had not received a reply from the Rajah, but I believe His Highness had to make some references to the Dewan for information on the points complained of in the petition.

5. The latter part of the post script to the petition in the "Madras Times," dated 12th March, "nor have any of the grievances complained of been redressed," I believe to convey an unjust and erroneous impression. All the reports I had received previous to my leaving Trivandrum from the Dewan, as well as from the Deputy Peishkar and other parties in the South of Travancore, were that order had been restored; and the Reverend Mr. Cox, who waited on me about the middle of February, assured me that perfect quiet had been restored in his district and that he had then recently visited it without experiencing any molestation.

6. I availed myself of the opportunity to mention to that gentleman that I had duly transmitted their petition to the Rajah.

7. There may perhaps to some complaints still under investigation, and the criminal trials have not yet been completed; but I believe the Dewan, and his officers in the South, to be anxiously engaged in their endeavour to remove all grounds of complaint, but it may require some time to perfect.

8. The remark of the missionaries that the Dewan has not the power "to dismiss at will the lower grades of Government

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officials" is although incorrect. It was a power which I specially procured for him on his appointment, and, in his reports of the 12th February, now before the Government, he states that "some minor Sirkar officials who appeared to have acted improperly were suspended from employment." Suspension is tantamount to dismissal, but there is no Sirkar Servant from the Tahsildar downwards whose dismissal, the Rajah would not at once have assented to had the Dewan recommended any such measure.

9. It was a matter too on which I was myself in communication with Dewan while he was himself to the South.

10. The petition of the missionaries, it will be observed, is dated 7th February, and probably had been in preparation some days previously, and before the disturbances had entirely been put down, as reported in the Dewan's letter about a week subsequently.

XLIV

Letter from T. Pycroft to the Secretary to the Government of India: 23-3-1859.

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Under Secretary Simson's letter of the 9th instant, No. 963, on the subject of the references of dates as per margin* which have been made by this Government to the Government of India, relative to the appointment of a Commission for investigating the condition of the Travancore State, which was ordered by the Honourable the Court of Directors in their Despatch of 30th April 1856, No. 3.

2. The Government of India, holding to the opinion expressed by the late Governor General, under date 12th October 1855, do not deem it desirable to make the proposed investigation

* To the Government of India, dated 15 August 1856, No. 251
dated 23 February 1857, No. 158
dated 15 May 1957, No. 376.
dated 6 February 1858, No. 98

by means of a Commission; but they consider that the events now passing in Travancore, combined with the state of things described in the papers forwarded by this Government, show that investigation should not be delayed.

3. It is accordingly stated, that although, as at present informed, the Government of India is not prepared to resort to a Commission, the Government of Madras is at liberty to suspend the Resident, and to appoint another person to officiate in his room. The officiating Resident should be directed to report on the state of the Country as soon as he can do so confidently. In this state be such as has been described, he should further report how far Lieutenant General Cullen is answerable for it; how far the Durbar has departed from the provision of the treaty under which they were bound to follow the Resident's advice; and what measures he would propose with a view to the restoration of order.

4. In reply to this I am instructed to state, that as the political relations between the Travancore and Cochin States and the British Government are under the immediate charge of the Government of Madras, by which the Resident is also appointed, the right honourable the Governor in Council never doubted his competency to suspend that officer, or even to remove him altogether, and he would not have hesitated to adopt either of those measures on good grounds shown; but he has not yet been in a position to determine whether adequate reasons for so strong a measure did exist, and to clear up this doubt would, it is submitted, have been one of the main objects for the appointment of a Commission, as originally proposed by this Government, and subsequently ordered by the Honourable Court. It has been clear that there were quite sufficient grounds for inquiry, but not sufficient so far to prejudge the case as to suspend the Resident.

5. It is further to be noted, that subsequent to the receipt of the Honourable Court's orders of 30th April 1856, 23rd February and 13th May 1857, the Dewan Krishna Row, to whose maladministration the evils which afflicted the Travancore State were mainly ascribed, has died.

His successor Madhava Row has received a liberal English

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education, is able and intelligent, and the complaints to Government of oppression and misrule in Travancore, have greatly decreased since his assumption of office.

6. The late disturbances in Travancore do not appear to this Government attributable either to the Resident or the Dewan. They are rather referable to causes connected with the recent changes in the Home Government of India, and the steps taken for inaugurating it, which have not been without similar effect in other parts of the Madras Presidency.

7. There is however reason to hope, that the excitement in Travancore is subsiding, with a view to possess the Government of India of the nature and origin of that agitation, as well as of the line of policy which this Government have seen fit to adopt regarding it, I am desired to forward copies of the papers, as per margin;* and I have to add that this Government would under any circumstances, defer taking any steps in consequence of Mr. Simson's letter until they have before them the information called for in paragraph 5 of Extract Minutes of Consultation of the 12th instant; viz. as to the endeavours made by the Resident to impress upon His Highness the Rajah the views of the Government respecting the principles by which such disputes as those between the Shanars and Nairs of Travancore should be settled.

Sd/— T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

* From Resident of Travancore and Cochin, 13th and 18th January 1859, No. 4 & 7.
Extract Minutes Consultation, 27 January 1859, No, 75.
From Resident, Travancore and Cochin, 26th January 1859, No. 10 etc.

XLV

Letter from Mr. Harris and others to Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India: 26-3-1859.

To
The Right Honourable Lord Stanley,
Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

We have the honour to lay before your Lordship copies of paper noted in the margin* having reference to the recent disturbances in South Travancore; and in doing so we would solicit special attention to the report submitted through the Resident by the Dewan Madhava Row and the origin, progress and the suppression of the disturbances as also to the minutes recorded by our president and civil members of Government on the subject.

2. The agitation it will be seen occurred in the 3 or 4 Southern districts of the Travancore territory between portions of the Soodra and Shanar population and appears to have arisen from some Hindoo Shanar women having assumed the right of covering the upper part of their persons with a cloth which was objected to by the Soodras as preventing a recognition of the caste.

3. Disturbances from a like cause broke out in the year 1829 on which occasion her Highness Ranee of Travancore in her proclamation of 3rd February 1829 republished, "as the only regulation in force in the matter a previous circular order of May 1814, whereby no women of paravres, shanars and others of the description were ever to be allowed to wear cloths on their bosoms as the Nair women".

4. Your Lordship will perceive from the last paragraph of our proceedings of the 27th January last, that the resident has been instructed to be careful to give no countenance.

5. We now await information as to the result of communication which the resident has held with his highness, the Rajah in furtherance of the instructions as above conveyed to him; as also

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regarding the arrangement proposed to be made by the Dewan with a view to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances and satisfy all parties as far as it may be possible to do so. There is reason to hope that the excitement in Travancore is subsiding and that no further disturbance or breach of the peace need to be apprehended.

6. We take this opportunity to forward and to request attention to a correspondence with the Government of India relative to the appointment of a commission for investigating the condition of Travancore State.

We have &c.,
Sd/—
Harris
Grant
Walter Elliot
W. A. Morehead.

Fort St. George,
26 March 1859.

* Consultation 1, February 1859 No. 4-6
Consultation, 8 February 1859 No. 19-20
Consultation, 15 March 1859, No. 10-15.

XLVI

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 2-4-1859.

Resident's Office,
Cochin,
2nd April 1859.

No. 709

To
The Dewan of Travancore.

Sir,

I fully approve of your suggestion to appoint a Special Commission to complete the trials of individuals charged with implication in the late disturbances in Nanjenad.

I approve also of the individuals you propose as members of the Commission, viz:—

Mr. Vernede, 2nd Judge Appeal Court.
Deputy Peishkar Ananda Row
Sessions Judge Tammpradha Moodelyar.

......I have regretted very much to observe the delay that has occurred in the progress of these trials and the remedy you have now suggested of a Special Commission appears absolutely necessary.

I have etc.,
Sd/-
W. Cullen.

XLVII

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 11-4-1859.

No. 786

Resident's Office,
Cochin, 11th April 1859.

To
The Dewan of Travancore

Sir,

I have just received a copy of the Revd. Mr. Baylis' letter to you under date the 7th instant.

2. I regret exceedingly to find that the criminal trials as well as Police proceedings in the cases adverted to by Mr. Baylis are stated to be conducted without energy and with much partiality.

3. The Special Commission will, I trust, remedy these evils, and I hope the Members of the Commission will already have proceeded to Nagercoil.

4. Although it may be proper to furnish the Appeal Court with all such reports made to you, you should not fail yourself in the present emergency to make direct personal enquiries into the conduct of the Judges or others charged with irregularities and to suggest at once the suspension of such parties necessary.

5. I have to call your particular attention to Mr. Baylis' remark that not one of the defendants charged with incendiarism have been put in confinement, and especially that one Eechoo Kooripoo Sermanakaren, a conspicuous promoter of these outrages, although a Sirkar servant, still continues in employment.

I have etc.,
Sd/-
W. Cullen,
Resident.

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XLIII

Letter of Rev. James Russel and Rev. J. J. Dennis to the Resident: 14–4–1859

Nagercoil,
14th April 1859.

To

Lt. General Cullen,
British Resident of Travancore.

Sir,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, enclosing a copy of a translation of a Yadhast from the Appeal Court to the Dewan of Travancore dated 28th March 1859.

We have the honour also of informing you that we have been called upon by the Sessions Judge at Nagercoil, in a paper which we received on the 12th instant, to appoint a Vakil in order that we may be represented at an examination which is about to take place in reference to the sabject of our letters of the 10th February and 11th March last.

In reference to each of these communications we beg leave to say that we have no fresher statements to make in relation to the subject of complaint contained in our letter of the 10th February. We would however respectfully submit that our statements in that complaint ought not for one moment to be considered as doubtful, or in any way weakened, much less as being invalidated, by any amount or kind of denial on the part of the accused persons.

The fact that two English gentlemen, Ministers of the Gospel were publicly and grossly insulted while, with the consent of the Naick of the Jail, they were quietly and peaceably visiting some of the Christian prisoners in the Jail, is well-known among the people and cannot be denied. But that we, who are either strangers to the prison and to the persons employed in it, who saw and heard what took place, should be expected to produce witnesses in confirmation of our statements seems to us preposterous, and to be more over little short of a device which under the strictest forms of justice will make a sure way of escape for the guilty parties.

We repeat that it was by the consent of the Naick we entered the Jail, and by his pointing out the way that we found the prisoner Jovan, and that it was not till we had been there some moments that the peon Avakar Pillai manifested any opposition. He was seated inside the door of the Jail when we entered and did not in any way oppose our entrance. When however he began to vociferate and gesticulate in the manner complaint of the Naick informed us that it was irregular for us to be in that part of the Jail. We then withdrew to the doorway of the jail and the prisoner Jovan was allowed to follow us with the peon and Naick in attendance, though this seemed greatly in opposition to the wishes of the Nazir and peon.

The statement of the Nazir is a gross fabrications to screen himself. Though he did not speak to us himself, he incited the peon to act as he did. We called for the Naick as soon as we passed the first gate and when we reached the door of the jail he appeared. We saw no one but the sentry on guard at the gate till the Naick came to us from the jail.

The statement of the Naick has, we do not hesitate to say, been forced from him to screen the others—and if he has acted in opposition to his order in admitting us, to clear himself, we positively affirm that on coming out of the jail he made *salaam* to us and bade us enter. He said not a word in opposition to us.

We are at a loss to conceive who the four witnesses are and cannot understand why, of all the persons present on the occasion these should have been selected to give evidence, and that of these four only three knew anything of what took place.

That we spoke to the prisoner Jovan in English and in a low voice is utterly false, the man does not understand one word of English. What the Naick and others say they heard us, in effect, say to the prisoner is true, but all was spoken in Tamil.

We submit to you whether in your opinion it is at all probable that thought we could name parties who really saw and heard what took place (which we cannot for the reason already assigned,

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except the Native who accompanied) they could, by any possibility be brought to give evidence in our behalf. Most assuredly not.

More over it seems to us monstrous that our testimony is to be set at naught by the persons accused—and that their word is regarded as being of more value than our's.

We would most respectfully submit that such an occurrence as this calls for your most serious and prompt interference. That two peaceable and unoffending subjects of our Most Gracious Queen residing in the country and under the guaranteed protection of His Highness the Rajah of Travancore, in such a time, should have been wantonly and grossly insulted in the public Jail and that by the petty officers of the Jail, is not an offence which ought to be dealt with as a trifling matter. It is with confidence therefore that we leave our case in your hands.

We would suggest that if you have any doubt as to the correctness of our statements, that doubt could we think be removed by your calling for original copies of all proceedings which have taken place in this matter among the Judges and officials of the Courts and Jail from that day to this.

We have etc.,

Sd/–
J. Russel.

Sd/–
John Joll Dennis.

(True copy)

Sd/–
W. Cullen,
Resident.

Letter from Rev. E. Lewis to the Resident: 25-4-1859.

To
Lt. General W. Cullen,
British Resident of Travancore.

Sir,

I beg to state, from accounts received from Josiah Catechist of Kulathu Viley who was unjustly beaten and imprisoned by the Proverthicaren of Parakkay—that it appears.

2. That in accordance with instructions sent by the Dewan to the Deputy Peishkar, this latter officer has made a full investigation of the charges preferred by the Catechist against the Proverthicaren; that the investigation occupied the greater part of three days, that all the charges preferred were proved against the Proverthicaren; and that the Peishkar has forwarded to the Dewan a full and explicit account of the whole proceedings.

3. That during the investigation the Proverthicaren endeavoured by false-hoods, denials, and by means of false witnesses to refute the charges brought against him, but that every attempt of the kind completely failed.

4. That the Proverthicaren requested as a favour that the Peishkar would omit from his report to the Dewan the insulting epithet which he had applied to myself and other Europeans in South Travancore, and which in my last letter to you is rendered "scoundrels" but that the Peishkar very properly refused to comply with his request.

5. That at the close of the investigation the Proverthicaren asked for mercy at the hand of the Peishkar, but he replied that there was no mercy for such a liar as he "Cullan".

6. That it is now 18 days since the investigation closed and a report of it sent to the Dewan, but the decision of the Dewan has not yet been made known; so that the Proverthicaren is still in office.

7. That the Proverthicaren and his friends concluding that no unfavourable decision will, after so great a delay, be

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pronounced by the Dewan against the former, the latter headed by Cinna Pillai—the man who beat Josiah by order of the Proverthicaren—are beginning to annoy again the Christians at Kulathuviley, and have cut down a Margosa tree of the largest growth, belonging to one of the congregation and taken it all away without leave from the owner and without offering him any compensation, the reason assigned being that they required it to boil milk for the Sirkar.

8. To prevent further annoyance from the Proverthicaren, his subordinates and friends to the Congregation at Kulathuviley I have to request that the mind of the Government respecting that officer's case be made known as soon as possible.

I have etc.,
Sd/–
E. Lewis.

(True copy)

Santhapooram,
25th April 1859.

Sd/–
W. Cullen, Resident.

L

Letter from Mr. Vernede to the Resident: 3–5–1859

Trevandrum,
3rd May 1859.

My dear Sir,

On being informed by the Dewan that I was nominated member of a Commission appointed to enquire into the cases which have arisen out of the recent disturbances at Nagercoil, I proceeded thither on the 11th ultimo and commenced business soon after my arrival.

1. Before my departure I urged the Dewan the necessity of furnishing the Commission with a fitting establishment, but as the only establishment, which we received consisted of a solitary Pillay from the Appeal Court with instructions to indent upon the Zilla Court for more hands if required, I regret to say that we found great difficulty in carrying on the business; for in the first place, I discovered that with a few exceptions the Zilla Court Pillays were incapable of transacting the business which they were

expected to do, and secondly the inconvenience which the withdrawal of the Pillamars would have entailed on the Zilla Court, and the total stoppage of business there as a result, obliged us to restrict the number of Pillamars from that quarter to a very few. Owing to these circumstances, there was a great waste of time and the progress of our enquiry was not so satisfactory as might have been expected.

2. I would also bring to your notice the great inconvenience which the Commissioners labour under for want of a suitable place to hold their sittings. We appropriated the Session Judge's office during the time we were there, a room hardly spacious for 3 persons to sit in, and so confined and insufficiently hot, that it was almost impossible to transact any business or devote our attention to it, until the cool of the evening.

3. I would take the liberty here to recommend (for your consideration) that the Commission hold their sittings, in future, at Trevandrum instead of at Nagercoil, in pursuance of their business. Such a proposal may perhaps on a first view be deemed objectionable on the grounds of the inconvenience it would subject the parties concerned, but I feel confident that the advantages such a change will possess, will more than counter balance the objection above stated. It will withdraw from Nagercoil, the seat of caste fanaticism and the form of discontent and excitement, all disaffected persons concerned in the cases. At present there are very few persons in confinement and most of the witnesses have already been examined, and so there will only be a few who shall have to attend at Trevandrum, besides which there are I understand about four cases on the files of the Trevandrum Court which will also come under the cognizance of the Commission.

4. Satisfied as I feel at the confidence placed on me by you and the Sirkar in nominating me to the Commission and willing as I always am to respond to every call of duty, I felt compelled pressed by pecuniary embarrassments to ask the Dewan when I was first nominated to relieve me of the duty, as I could ill–afford the expense of travelling and undergo the additional charge of double house–keeping, but as I was informed that the delay which would have ensured in obtaining your consent to it would have been

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great, I agreed to go. In order to enable me to do so, I was obliged to draw one month's pay in advance, for I had none in arrears to fall upon, and I feel the weight of this extra demand on my purse most intensely; if as proposed it would be considered desirable that the Commission sit at this place the business could be carried on without subjecting the Commissioners to any expense.

I respectfully leave the above points to your consideration.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/—
Vernede.

LI

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 5-5-1859

Trevandrum
5th May 1859.

My dear Sir,

I like your draft very well. I think it is very nicely expressed. It has of course been shown to His Highness.

His Highness has by prescription I believe the full power to make such alterations.

Might you not have introduced some reference to the numbers of the population likely to be affected by the change not only in Travancore but in Cochin and the Collectorate of Malabar so as to shew to the Government how extensive may be its operation.

It is true that it is at present intended only for the Shanars and there are grounds perhaps for considering theirs as a distinct case because of the constant intercourse with the same caste in His Highness' adjoining territories. Perhaps it might be so stated in the Proclamation.

Yours etc.,
Sd/—
W. Cullen.

To

LII

Minute by the President dated 7 May 1859

I beg leave to submit to my colleagues a copy of the letter which I intimated to them my intention of writing to General Cullen, the Resident at Travancore:—

Madras, 6 May 1859.

Dear Sir,

Having now perused the whole of the correspondence relating to Travancore, I am able to write to you with confidence.

The recent proceedings in reference to certain females of the Shanar class which have attracted so much attention, both in England and India, require no comment from me. I have seldom met with a case in which not only truth and justice but every feeling of our common humanity are so entirely on one side. The whole civilized world would cry shame upon us if we did not make a firm stand on such an occasion. If anything could make this line of conduct more incumbent on us it would be the extraordinary fact that persecution of a singularly personal and indelicate kind is attempted to be justified by Royal proclamation the special object of which was to assure to Her Majesty's Indian subjects liberty of thought and action, so long as they did not interfere with the just rights of others. I should fail in respect to Her Majesty if I attempted to describe the feelings with which she must regard the use made against Her own sex of the promises of protection so graciously accorded by Her.

I however, observe with pleasure, that in his letter to you, dated the 12th of February last, Madava Rao, Dewan of Travancore, wrote to you as follows:—

"The authority of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances, and satisfy parties as far as it may be possible to do so," from which I infer that His Highness the Maharaja is sensible that the conduct of a portion of his subjects towards the Shanar women belong to an

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age of barbarism, utterly unsuited to the present advanced stage of civilization in this country.

By the order of this Government, dated the 27th of January last, you are instructed to be careful to give no countenance to the idea that the British Government of which you are the "representative, recognizes any exclusive distinctions, or the right of any set of men to prevent others from following, in all matters of social or domestic life, such course as they may see fit, provided it be not repugnant to Public decency and morals. It will be your duty to impress these views on His Highness the Rajah, and to point out to him that such prohibitions as those contained in the circular order of May 1814, or in the proclamation of the 3rd February 1829, are unsuited to the present age, and unworthy of an enlightened prince, and that he is not to look for the support of the British Government in any attempts to maintain them, as respects any class of his subjects." And by the further order of this Government of the 12th March last, you were informed that "the Government will hope to learn at an early date what arrangement has been made by the Dewan. The principle on which it should proceed has already been laid down by Government in the last paragraph of Extract Minutes of Consultation, 2nd January 1859. General Cullen will inform Government what communication he has held with his Highness the Rajah in furtherance of the instructions then conveyed to him. The degree of interference which for many years past has been exercised by the representative of the British Government, in the affairs of Travancore, is so large, and his intervention so general, that the credit or discredit of the administration greatly rests with the British Government, and it has thereby become their duty to insist upon the observance of a system of toleration in a more decided manner than they would be at liberty to adopt if they had merely to bring their influence to bear on an independent state."

Since that time numerous petitions have been presented to Government by the inhabitants of Travancore, complaining of the ill-usage and indignities to which the Shanar women are exposed, all of which have been referred to you for an early report of what you have done in these cases with reference to the orders of this Government of the 27th January 1859.

It is my earnest desire to support the just authority of the Maha Rajah in his ancient dominions, and I know what is due to yourself as an old and deserving officer of the Government; but the case now before me is one in which the claims of public duty are of the most imperative kind, and I must therefore desire that you will without further delay yield obedience to the repeated order which have been conveyed to you, and report in detail what you have done in consequence of the resolutions of this Government communicated to you on the 27th January and on the 14th of March last, and what the Maharajah has done in consequence.

I remain &c.,
Sd/-
C. E. Trevelyan.

LIII

Letter from C. E. Trevelyan to General Cullen

To
Lieutenant General Cullen,
Resident of Travancore and Cochin.

As this subject has already, as might have been expected, begun to excite warm interest in England, I suggest that a copy of this letter should be sent to Lord Stanley as an earnest of the continued resolve of this Government to deal effectually with the subject.

Sd/-
C. E. Trevelyan.

True copy

(Sd/-)
T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

LIV

Letter from the Resident to T. Pycroft: 12-5-1859

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of extract from Minutes of Consultation, No. 75, of the 27th January last, and of Extract from Minutes of Consultation No. 161 of 12th March, also of a number of petitions from Shanars of South Travancore, referred to me for report with reference to the above orders of Government.

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2. I lost no time in communicating the above orders to the Dewan, who was at the time in the disturbed districts; and I also communicated the Minutes of consultation of 27th January, to His Highness the Rajah, immediately after His Highness's return from his visit to Quilon in the month of February.

3. All disturbances in the south had ceased before the middle of February, but my absence from Trivandrum from the beginning of March until the 21st of last month, and the Rajah's and Dewan's occupation with the marriage ceremonies of the young Ranee, have subsequently prevented His Highness the Rajah, as well as the Dewan, from giving their full attention to the subject; but the Dewan is now engaged in drawing up a report, and which I am in daily expectation of receiving.

4. There is no difficulty or objection, I believe, on the part of His Highness the Rajah of the Travancore Government to allow the Shanar women to wear the coopayam of the Christians or the molacatchay of the Mookwas, but there would be a strong disinclination; I believe, to conceding to them the particular form of dress, used by the Soodra women.

5. The several parties, whether Soodras or Shanars, implicated in the late disturbances, are now under trial at Nagercoil, by a special commisson from Trivandrum recently appointed to the duty because of the dilatory proceedings of the local courts. Some of the individuals who signed the petitions and were in prison have since been liberated on bail.

LV

Letter from the Dewan of Travancore to the Resident: 13-5-1859.

No. 360

Huzur Cutcherry,
Trivandrum,
13th May 1859.

To
Lt. General W. Cullen,
British Resident of Travancore.

Sir,

4. As regards Mr. Baylis's representation touching the kychits required from the Christian converts agreeing to perform the duty of night patrols in their respective villages like people of other castes, I beg to submit herewith translate of a Sadhanom received on the subject from the Deputy Peishkar Shungoony Menon, dated the 13th Mausy 1034 / 23rd February 1859.

5. I learnt from Deputy Peishkar that he has given orders to the proper officials to apprehend the individual Pappoo Kooripoo Shermanakaren and refined to and other remaining Defendants taken down their deposition and make them over to the Criminal Court as soon as possible.

6. The Deputy Peishkar has given an endorsement to the prosecutor in the case of the ill-treatment on the Shanar woman Vethanaigom desiring him to apply to the Court for the examination of the witness named Vednal Pandyan of Kuriarully, as that case had already been committed to that Tribunal.

I have etc.,
Sd/—
T. Madava Row,
Dewan.

LVI

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 16-5-1859

Trivandrum,
16th May 1859,

My dear Sir,

I am not aware of any objection to the revised draft of the letter about the dress to be worn by the Shanar women.

I should hope it will answer every purpose.

Yours etc.
Sd/—
W. Cullen.

To
The Dewan of Travancore.

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LVII

Letter from the Dewan of Travancore to the Resident: 17-5-1859

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, No. 460 and 622 respectively, dated the second and 23rd March last, together with extracts from the Minutes of Consultation of the Madras Government.

2. As requested, I have laid the correspondence berore His Highness the Rajah.

3. The whole subject has had careful consideration.

4. His Highness certainly feels that the provisions of the proclamation of 1004 M. E. on the subject of the dress of the inferior castes require to be greatly modified.

5. His Highness now proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women, and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency any way they may deem proper, with the simple restriction that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes.

6. His Highness desires to observe, that anxious as he is to meet the wishes of the Government to the utmost of his power, and to give free scope for the improvement of the moral and social condition of his subjects of all classes, His Highness would not have made even this small reservation, were it not for the fear that the sudden and total abolition of all distinctions of dress, which have from time immemorial distinguished one caste from another may produce most undesirable impressions on the minds of the larger portion of his subjects, and cause their serious discontent; still I am to observe that, by the present concession, the demands of decency have been fully answered without needlessly offending the feelings peculiar to the other castes.

7. It is, of course, needless to remind you of those many circumstances which would make the introduction of decisive reforms, especially in matters of caste and religion, much more difficult in Travancore than in Her Majesty's territories.

8. While, therefore, the progress of education among the people in general may be expected to have the way for much greater changes, His Highness hopes that the arrangement now proposed, the only one which seems calculated to answer the object in view; without the probability of disturbing the peace of the Country, would meet with your approval and that of the Madras Government.

9. A corresponding proclamation will be issued by His Highness on hearing from you.

LVIII

Minute by the President: 30-5-1859

No. 15

This concession must, I think, be accepted as a practical earnest on the part of the Raja of a desire to put an end to the barbarous and indecent restriction previously existing upon the dress of the Shanar women, but we cannot pronounce a final opinion until we see the working of the new regulation.

Sd/-
C. E. Trevelyan

LIX

Letter from the Resident to the Dewan of Travancore: 21-5-1859

No. 1022

Resident's Office,
Trevandrum,
21st May 1859.

To

The Dewan of Travancore:

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 895 of the 17th instant.

2. The modifications which you have suggested in the existing rules in regard to dress for the Shanar females, and which you state have also received approval of His Highness the Raja

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appear to me to be quite satisfactory, and fully to meet the views of the Madras Government.

3. I have forwarded a copy of your letter to Government and have added, that I have recommended a corresponding Proclamation to be drawn up and issued.

I have etc.,
Sd/-
W. Cullen,
Resident.

LX

Draft of the Proclamation

Whereas we are given to understand that the rules of the dress of Shanar women enacted by the Proclamation of the 23rd Magarom 1004, are felt to be a hardship, and whereas it is our earnest desire to obviate the complaints of all parties, it is hereby proclaimed that, there is no objection to all Shanar females hereafter covering their bosoms by wearing the breast-cloth used by the Mookoover women, or the jacket called Cooppayam or other mode of dress, provided they avoid adopting the upper-cloth &c. used by the women of higher castes.

2. All persons are to know the above.

Sd/-
T. Madava Row,
Dewan.

LXI

Order of T. Pycroft: 6—6—1859.

The Resident of Travancore submits the copy of a report from the Dewan, containing the proposals of His Highness, the Rajah, on the subject of the dress of females of the Shanar caste.

2. His Highness feels that the provisions of the proclamation of 1004, relative to the dress of the inferior castes, require to be greatly modified.

3. His Highness proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women, and

to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency in any way they may deem proper, with the simple restriction, that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes.

4. His Highness would not have made even this reservation, were it not for the fear that the sudden and total abolition of all distinctions of dress, which have from time immemorial distinguish one caste from another, might produce most undesirable impressions on the minds of the larger portion of his subjects, and cause their serious discontent.

5. A proclamation to the effect above stated will be issued immediately.

6. The Government are prepared to accept this concession as a practical earnest on the part of the Rajah, of his desire to put an end to the barbarous and indecent restrictions previously existing on the dress of the Shanar women.

Sd/-
T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

True copies.
Sd/-
J. W. Kaye.

LXII

Letter from C. E. Travelyan to Lord Stanley: 7-6-1859.

To

The Rt. Honourable Lord Stanley,
Secretary of State of India.

My Lord,

In continuation of our despatch of the 9th ultimo No. 14, we have the honor to forward a copy of a letter from the resident of Travancore, with a copy of a report from the Dewan, containing

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the proposals of H. H. the Rajah of the subject of the dress of females in the Shanar caste.*

2. From the Dewan's letter it will be observed that his Highness feels that the provisions of the proclamation of 1004, relative to the dress of the inferior caste, require to be greatly modified.

3. His Highness proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women, and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency in any way they may deem proper, with the simple restriction, that they may not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes.

4. His Highness, it is stated, would not have even made this reservation, were it not for the fear that the sudden and total abolition of all distinctions in dress, which have from time immemorial distinguished one caste from another, might produce most undesirable impressions on the minds of the larger portion of his subjects and cause their serious discontent.

5. A proclamation to the effect above stated is to be issued immediately.

6. We have informed the resident, for communication to the Rajah that we are prepared to accept this concession, as a practical earnest on the part of His Highness of his desire to put an end to the barbarous and indecent restriction previously existing in the dressing of the Shanar women.

We have &c.
Sd/—
C. E. Trevelyan,
J. Grant
W. Elliot,
Morehead.

Fort St. George,
7 June 1859.

* Proceedings of Government from 18-27 May 1859 No. 21 and 22.
Proceedings of Government from 2-10 June 1859, No. 14-16.

LXIII

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS
Law (General) Department

G. O. No. 785, 7th July 1921

NADARS

Adoption of the term 'Nadar' in place of 'Shanan' in all official documents.

Order No. 785, Law (General) dated 7th July 1921.

The Government direct that the term Nadar shall in future be adopted in place of Shanan in all official documents.

(By order of the Governor-in-Council)

Sd./—
R. Ramachandra Rao,
Secretary to Government.

Editor's table.

(True Copy)

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B. (Malayalam)

I

Niṭṭu to appoint a Christian Judge :

5 Makaram 994

അപ്പീൽകോട്ട്—ഒരു കൃസ്ത്യൻ ജഡ്ജിയെ നിയമിക്കണമെന്ന്

നീട്ട്

കൊടുത്തുട്ടസാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. അപ്പീലായിട്ടുവരുന്ന വ്യവഹാരങ്ങളിൽ കിരസ്തുവരിടെ കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഏറിവരുന്നതാകകൊണ്ടും അവരുടെ വെദമര്യാദയും കൂടെ അറിഞ്ഞുവിസ്തരിക്കെണ്ടുന്നതിന്ന് അപ്പീൽകൊർട്ടിൽ ഒരു കിരസ്താൻ ജഡ്ജി വെണ്ടുന്നതിനു ഹജൂർ കൊർട്ടിൽ രണ്ടാം ജഡ്ജിയെന്നും അപ്പീൽക്കൊർട്ടിൽ കിരസ്താ മൂന്നാം ജഡ്ജി ആയിട്ടും ഹജൂർക്കൊർട്ടിൽ രണ്ടാംജഡ്ജി ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനു സ്പീശൽ കൊർട്ടിൽ രണ്ടാം ജഡ്ജിയെയും ആക്കെണ്ടുന്ന സംഗതിക്കു അപ്പീൽ കൊർട്ടുകാററിടെ സാധനം എഴുതിവന്ന അവസ്ഥകൊണ്ടു എഴുതി അയച്ചിരുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം അവരുടെ പെർകൾ പിടിപാടുനിനവു എഴുതി കെട്ടിച്ചു കൊടുത്തയക്കുന്നപ്രകാരം എല്ലൊ എഴുതിവന്നതിലാകുന്നു. പിടിപാടു നിനവിനു എഴുത്തിട്ട് ഇതിനൊടുകൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു അപ്രകാരം നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 994-ാമാണ്ടു മകരമാസം 5-ാംതീയതി ദിവാൻ ജനാർദ്ദനരായർ വെംകിട്ടരായർക്കു നീട്ട് എഴുതിവിട്ടു എന്ന തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ട്.

തുല്യം.

II

Niṭṭu exempting Nāḍārs and others from paying Talayara and other taxes :

20 Ciṅgam 995

ഈഴവൻ, ചാന്നാന്മാർ, മുതലായവർക്കു തലയറ പലവകയിലും കുറച്ചുകൊടുത്തത്

നീട്ട്

കൊടുത്തുട്ടസാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. ൟ രാജ്യത്തു ൟഴവരു ചാന്നാര വണ്ണാർ കാവതി മുക്കുവരു പറയരു പുലയരു

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മുതലായ ആളുകളിടെ പെരിൽ തലയറ പലയറ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടവകപ്പണങ്ങൾ കറച്ചുകൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്നതല്ലാതെ ചെട്ടികൾ വാണിയർ കാംകയർ വൈരാവിമാരു ഉൾപ്പെട്ട പല ജാതിക്കാററരിടെയും പെരിൽ കെട്ടിലക്കം ഇറയിലക്കം മണക്കുളിയാൽപ്പണം മുതൽ ആദിയാരിക്കുന്നതും കുറച്ചുകൊടുക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം 91–ാമാണ്ടു് വിളംബരം പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തിയതിൻെറ ശെഷം അതിന്മണ്ണം പണ്ടാരവകക്കു മുതൽക്കൂട്ടിയിരുന്ന കെട്ടിലക്കം പണവും ആ വകയിൽ ഒടുക്കുനീക്കി കുടിശ്ശിക ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നതും കുറച്ചു കൊടുത്തതല്ലാതെ ശ്രീപണ്ടാരവകക്കു സംകെതം മെൽകഞ്ഞാണം വകയിൽ മുതൽ കൂട്ടിയിരിക്കുന്ന പണത്തിൻെറ സംഗതിക്കു് ഇന്ന പ്രകാരമെന്നു വിളംബരത്തിൽ തിരിച്ചു് എഴുതിയിട്ടില്ലാത്തതിനാൽ ആവകപ്പണം ഒടുക്കണമെന്നു ചൊദ്യംചെയ്തു ഒടുക്കിക്കയും പണം ഒടുക്കാത്തതിനാൽ ഏതാനും പെരെ കൊർട്ടിൽ ഏൾപ്പിച്ചു തീർപ്പാക്കി പണത്തിനു ചൊദ്യം ചെയ്കയും ചെയ്തുവരുന്നപ്രകാരം ആളുർപാർക്കുന്ന കിരസ്തവർ മുതലായ ആളുകൾ സംകടം ബൊധിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും ദെവസ്വം അടിയന്തരങ്ങൾക്കു് ഒന്നിനും കിരസ്തവരൊടു ചൊദ്യംചെയ്യരുതെന്നു വിളംബരം മുമ്പിൽത്തന്നെ പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നതാകകൊണ്ടും ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തു വൈക്കുന്ന ചട്ടങ്ങൾ എല്ലാപെർക്കും ഒന്നുപൊലെ നടത്തിപ്പാനുള്ളതല്ലാതെ പണ്ടാരവകക്കു ഒരുവിധവും ദെവസ്വംവകക്കു മററൊരു പ്രകാരവും നടത്തിക്കുന്നതു ന്യായമല്ലാത്തതിനാൽ ഈ സംഗതിക്കു നമ്മെ ബൊധിപ്പിച്ചാൽ പറയുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം കുറച്ചുകൊടുക്കണമെന്നും റസിഡണ്ടു മെജർ മകുടൊൽ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും പണ്ടാരവകക്കു കെട്ടിലക്കം കുറച്ചുകൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം ശ്രീപണ്ടാരവകക്കു കുറച്ചുകൊടുപ്പാനുള്ളതെന്നു തൊന്നുകകൊണ്ടും അക്കാര്യത്തിനു് എഴുതിക്കെട്ടിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള വിളംബരം കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രകാരവും എല്ലൊ എഴുതിവന്നതിലാകുന്നു. എഴുതിക്കെട്ടിച്ചുകൊടുത്തയച്ച വിളംബരം 35–നം എഴുത്തിട്ടു ഇതിനൊടുകൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു് ആയതു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തിച്ചു എഴുതിവന്നതിന്മണ്ണംതന്നെ ദെവസ്വം വകക്കു കെട്ടിലക്കം മുതൽക്കൂട്ടിയിരിക്കുന്ന പണവും ആ വകയിൽ ഒടുക്കുനീക്കി കുടിശ്ശിക ഉള്ള പണവും കണക്കിൽ കുറവെഴുതിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 995–ാമാണ്ടു ചിങ്ങമാസം 20–ാനു ദിവാൻ ജനാർദ്ദനരായർ വെംകിട്ടരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിട്ടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം.

III

Nīṭṭu, exempting the Christians from ūḻiyam service:

4 Kanni 997 (-)

വേദക്കാർ ഊഴിയത്തിനു ചെല്ലേണ്ടെന്നു്

നീട്ടു്

കൊടുത്തുട്ടസാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടു അവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടു ഉള്ള ചാന്നാന്മാർ വേദം കേട്ടു എന്നും പറഞ്ഞു പണ്ടാരവക ഊഴിയവെലകാര്യങ്ങൾക്കു വരാതെയും കരങ്ങൾ ഒടുക്കാതെയും ആജ്ഞയും ആണയും അനുസരിക്കാതെയും മുഷ്ക്കായിട്ടു പാർക്കകൊണ്ടും വേദക്കാറരായിട്ടൊത്തു കിരസ്ത്യാന്മാർ മുതലായ ആളുകൾ ഞായറാഴ്ച പെരുനാൾ ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള അടിയന്തരത്തിനു പള്ളിയിൽ പോകുന്ന ദിവസം ഒഴികെ മററുള്ള ദിവസങ്ങളിൽ ഒക്കെയും ശെഷം കുടികളെപ്പൊലെ പണ്ടാരവക ഊഴിയവെലകാര്യങ്ങൾക്കു വരാതെയിരിപ്പാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം യാതൊരു ഉത്തരവും കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ലായ്മകൊണ്ടും ഈ സംഗതി റസിഡൻറു് കർണ്ണലിനെ ബൊധിപ്പിച്ചാറെയും ഞായറാഴ്ച പെരുനാൾ ഒഴികെയുള്ള ദിവസങ്ങളിൽ ഒക്കെയും ചാന്നാന്മാർ കിരസ്ത്യന്മാർ മുതലായിട്ടൊത്തു വേദക്കാരെകൊണ്ടു, പണ്ടാരവക ഊഴിയവെലകാര്യങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യിപ്പാനൊള്ളതാകുന്നു എന്നും ഉത്തരവുവന്നിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രകാരവും അതിന്മണ്ണം ആയാളുകളെകൊണ്ടു് ഊഴവെലകാര്യങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യിച്ചുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണം പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തെണ്ടുന്നതിനു ഇദ്രപതുവിളംബരം എയുതിക്കെട്ടിച്ചുകൊടുത്തയക്കുന്ന അവസ്ഥകൊണ്ടല്ലൊ എയുതിവന്നതിലാകുന്നു അതിന്മണ്ണംതന്നെ ഈ വകക്കു എയുതിക്കെട്ടിച്ചു കൊടുത്തയച്ച വിളംബരം ഇരുപതിനും എഴുത്തിട്ടു ഇതിനൊടുകൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ആയതു അതതുസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കൊടുത്തയച്ചു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തി അപ്രകാരം നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 997–ാമണ്ടു് കന്നിമാസം 4–ാനു ദിവാൻ ജനാർദ്ദനരായർ വെംകിട്ടരായർക്കു് നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിട്ടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു്.

തുല്യം.

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IV

Niṭṭu granting permission for the issue of the Proclamation of 1004 M. E. / 1829 A. D.

ക്രിസ്തുമതത്തിൽ ചേർന്ന ചാന്നാന്മാർക്കു് ഞായറാഴ്ച പൊതു ഒഴിവ്

നീട്ട്

കൊട്ടത്തുട്ടസാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. കൽക്കുളം മുതലായ മണ്ടപത്തുംവാതുക്കൽകളിൽ കിരസ്തുമാർക്കത്തിൽ ചെർന്നിരിക്കുന്ന—ചാന്നാന്മാരും മററൊള്ള കുടിയാന്മാരും തമ്മിൽ കലശൽ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്ന സംഗതി വിചാരണചെയ്തു ചട്ടംകെട്ടുന്നതിനു—താൻ പത്മനാഭപുരത്തുപൊയ അവസ്ഥകളും അതിൽ ഏതാനും കാര്യം റസിഡണ്ടു കർണ്ണലിനെ ബൊധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനായിട്ട 20–നു തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തിനുവന്നിരിക്കുന്ന സംഗതികളും ഇതിനു മുൻപിൽ എഴുതികൊട്ടത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും —ചാന്നാട്ടികൾ മെലിൽ ശീലയിട്ടുനടക്കയും മററൊള്ള കുടിയാനവന്മാർക്കു ഒപ്പം ചാന്നാന്മാരു ഊഴിയ വേലകർമ്മങ്ങൾക്കു വരാതെ പാർക്കയും മെൽജാതിയെന്നും, കീഴ്ജാതിയെന്നും ഒരു ഭേദം കൂടാതെ നടക്കയും സ്ഥലങ്ങളിടെ കിടപ്പുകൾ അറിയാതെ പള്ളി മുതലായതു വെയ്പിക്കയും ചാന്നാന്മാർക്കു സംകടം ഉണ്ടായാൽ മുറപ്രകാരം പണ്ടാരവക ഉദ്യൊഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ അടുക്കൽച്ചെന്നു പറയാതെ വേറെ ചില സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ പൊയി പറഞ്ഞുവരികയും ചെയ്തുവരുന്ന കാരണത്താൽ കലശൽ ഉണ്ടാവാൻ ഇടവന്നതാകകൊണ്ടു് ഇനിമെൽ അതിന്മണ്ണും വരാതെ ഇരിക്കെണ്ടുന്നതിനു ചാന്നാന്മാരിൽ കിരസ്തുമാർക്കത്തിൽ ചെർന്നിരിക്കുന്ന ചാന്നാട്ടികൾ മെലിൽ ശീല ഇട്ടുകൂടാ എന്നും അതിനുപകരം കുപ്പായം ഇട്ടുകൊള്ളാമെന്നും 89–ാമാണ്ടു് മേടമാസം 7–നു എല്ലാ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലെക്കും എഴുത്തു കൊട്ടത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുമ്പൊൾ ഇടയിൽ മേലിൽ ശീലയിട്ടുകൊള്ളാമെന്നു കോടിൽ ഒരു തീർപ്പായിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നും ചാന്നാന്മാരു പറയുന്നതു മേലെഴുതിയ എഴുത്തിനു വിരൊധമാകകൊണ്ടു ആ തീർപ്പു സാധു അല്ലെന്നും 89–ാമാണ്ടു് കൊട്ടത്തിരിക്കുന്ന എഴുത്തുതന്നെ പ്രമാണമാക്കി കുപ്പായം ഇട്ടുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണവും ചാന്നാന്മാരും അതിൽ കിരസ്തുമാർക്കത്തിൽ ചെർന്നിരിക്കുന്നവരും മററൊള്ള കുടിയാനവന്മാർക്കു ഒപ്പം ഊഴിയ വേലകർമ്മങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണവും കിരസ്തുമാർക്കത്തിൽ ചെർന്നിരിക്കുന്ന ചാന്നാന്മാരൊടു ഞായറാഴ്ച നാളിൽ ഊഴിയത്തിനും ദേവസ്വം തിങ്ങൾ വക വേലകാര്യത്തിനും ചൊദ്യം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ലെന്നും കിരസ്തുവരാകട്ടെ മററൊള്ള കുടിയാനവന്മാരാകട്ടെ വലിപ്പമുള്ള ജാതിക്കാരരൊടു കീഴ്മര്യാദപ്രകാരം ഒള്ള മുറകൾക്കു വിരോധമായിട്ടു നടന്നുകൂടാ എന്നും

ണ്ടാരവകയിൽ ബൊധിപ്പിച്ചു ഉത്തരവു കൂടാതെ അവരവർക്കു ബൊധിച്ചുപൊലെ ക്ഷേത്രം പള്ളി മുതലായവ വച്ചുകൂടാ എന്നും ചാന്നാന്മാർക്കു് ളുകട്ടെ അതിൽനിന്നും കിരസ്തുമാർക്കത്തിൽ ചെർന്നിരിക്കുന്ന ആളുകൾ ാകട്ടെ ഏതുംക്കലും സംകടങ്ങൾ ഒണ്ടായിരുന്നാൽ പണ്ടാരവക ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ അടുക്കൽതന്നെ വന്നു പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളണമെന്നും വിളംബരം പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തി ചട്ടംകെട്ടുവാൻ ഒള്ളതായിട്ടു കണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതിനാൽ ആ ളകക്കു 12 വിളംബരം എയ്യുതികെട്ടിച്ചു് ഇങ്ങൊട്ടു കൊട്ടത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നവസ്ഥകൊണ്ടല്ലൊ എഴുതിവന്നതിലാകുന്നു. ഇക്കാര്യത്തിനു് ഇപ്രകാരം ചട്ടംകെട്ടുന്നതു നന്നായിട്ടുള്ളതാകകൊണ്ടു് എഴുതിവന്നതിന്മണ്ണും ന്നെ വിളംബരം 12–നും എയ്യുത്തിട്ടു ഇതിനൊടുകൂടെ കൊട്ടത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ആയതിനെ അതതുസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കൊട്ടത്തയച്ചു അപ്രകാരം നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1004–ാമാണ്ടു് കരമാസം 23–ാനു ദിവാൻ ഗുണ്ഡൊപണ്ഡിതർ വെംകിട്ടരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിട്ടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം.

V

The Proclamation of 1004 M. E. / 1829 A. D.

മര്യാദയ്ക്കു് വിരോധമായി നടക്കാതിരിക്കാൻ വിളംബരം

കൊട്ടത്തുട്ടസാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. കൽക്കുളം ഇരണിയൽ മുതലായ മണ്ടപത്തുംവാതുക്കൽ ചെർന്ന പ്രദെശങ്ങളിൽ പാർക്കുന്ന ചാന്നാന്മാരു മുതലായ ആളുകൾ കീഴ്മര്യാദെക്കു വിരൊധമായിട്ടു നടക്കാതെയിരിക്കെണ്ടുന്ന സംഗതിക്കു ഇവിടെനിന്നും കൊട്ടത്തയച്ച വിളംബരം വിളവംകൊട്ടു മുതൽ തൊവാള വരെ ഒള്ള മണ്ടപത്തും വാതുക്കൽകളിൽ കൊട്ടത്തയച്ചു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തിന്നപ്രകാരം ചട്ടംകെട്ടിയിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും ൰ സംഗതി തൊവാള മുതൽ—തിരുവനന്തപുരം വരെയുള്ള മണ്ടപത്തുംവാതുക്കൽ ഢാണാ കെൾവീ —അധികാരംകോട്ടു മുതലായ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ ഒക്കയും പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തി പൊതുസ്ഥലത്തിൽ പതിക്കെണ്ടുന്നതിനു മണ്ടപത്തുംവാതുക്കൽകളിലും ഢാണാവുകളിലും ഹജൂർകച്ചെരിയിലും വച്ചു സൂക്ഷിക്കെണ്ടുന്നതിനും കൂടെ നൂററിച്ചില്ലാനം വിളംബരം വെണ്ടുന്നതാകയാൽ ആയതൊക്കെയും ഒരുമിച്ചു് എയ്യുതി ഇവിടെനിന്നും എഴുത്തിട്ടുവരുത്തുന്നതിനു (പൊടിവു) തുമെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചു—തൽക്കാല ആയതു മായിട്ടു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തെണ്ടുന്നതിനുമാത്രം ഏതാനും വിളംബരങ്ങൾ എഴുതിച്ചു ഇതിനുമുമ്പിൽ കൊട്ടത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതാകകൊണ്ടും ആയതു നീക്കി മേലെഴുതിയപ്രകാരം ശെഷം ഒള്ള സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലൊക്കയും കൊട്

https://archive.org/details/@jebindp

ത്തയക്കെണ്ടുന്നതിനു 95 വിളംബരം എഴുതിച്ചു ഇങ്ങൊട്ടുകൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന അവസ്ഥകൊണ്ടല്ലൊ എഴുതിവന്നതിലാകുന്നു. അതിന്മണ്ണം ആവക വിളംബരം 95-ഉം നാം വായിച്ചുകെട്ടു എഴുത്തിട്ടു ഇതിനൊടുകൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ആയതിനെ അതതുസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കൊടുത്തയച്ചു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തി അപ്രകാരം നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1004 മാണ്ടു് കുംഭമാസം 28-നു- ദിവാൻ വെംകട്ടരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിട്ടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം.

VI

Nīṭṭu to pay allowance to Capt. Daly :

23 Iḍavam 1004

കെപ്ടൻ ഡെലി—ചാന്നാന്മാരുടെ അക്രമങ്ങൾ അമർത്താൻ പത്മനാഭപുരത്തു പോയിരുന്ന പട്ടാളത്തിൽ കമാൻഡറായി പോയതിനു്

നീട്ടു്

കൊടുത്തുകൂട്ടസാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. കൽക്കുളം ഇരണിയൽ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട പ്രദേശങ്ങളിൽ ചാന്നാന്മാരുടെ ചില്ലറകൾ ഉണ്ടായതിനെ—വിചാരിച്ചു ചട്ടംകെട്ടെണ്ടുന്നതിനായിട്ടു (പൊടിവു) പത്മനാഭപുരത്തു പോകുമ്പോൾ മലയാം പട്ടാളത്തിൽ രണ്ടു കുമ്പിനി ശിപായികളെ കൂടെ കൊണ്ടുപോയതിനു കമാനായിട്ടുവന്നിരുന്ന ലപ്ടൻ ഡെലി 46 ദിവസം അവിടെ കൂടെ പാർത്തിരുന്ന നാളത്തേക്കു പട്ടാളമുറപ്രകാരം നാളൊന്നിനു് അഞ്ചുരൂപാവീതം 46 ദിവസത്തേക്കു 230 രൂപാ പടിവകക്കു ചെല്ലുവാനുള്ളതിനു ലപ്ടൻ ഡെലിയടെയും കൊല്ലത്തു ബന്തെഖാനാവിൽ പാർപ്പിച്ചിരുന്ന വിലങ്ങന്മാരിൽ ഏതാനും പേരും മലയാം കുപ്പിണിയിൽ ശിപായികളിടെ പാറാവിൽനിന്നും ഒളിച്ചുപോയ സംഗതി സംസാരിക്കുന്നതിനു ലപ്ടൻ നിക്സനെ പറഞ്ഞയച്ചതിന്റെ ശെഷം അവിടെച്ചെന്നു അക്കാര്യം വിസ്തരിച്ചു തിരെയ്യവന്നതിനു 6 ദിവസത്തെക്കു വലിയ ചിലവിനു നാളൊന്നുക്കു അഞ്ചുരൂപാ വീതം 30 രൂപാ ചെല്ലുവാനുള്ളതിനു—നിക്സൻെറയും വീശകൊടുത്തയക്കുന്നപ്രകാരം മലയാം പട്ടാളത്തിൽ—കമാനിപ്സർ മേജർ വാർക്കു ഹാർസന്റെ എഴുത്തു വന്നിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ൨ം വകക്കു രൂപാകൊടുക്കെണ്ടുന്നതിനു നിദാനം വരണമെന്നും എല്ലൊ എഴുതിവന്നതിലാകുന്നു ഈവകക്കു ഇപ്പോൾ എഴുതിവന്നതിന്മണ്ണം 260 രൂപാ കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു ഹജൂർ ഖജനാവിൽ ശ്രീ സുബ്രഹ്മണ്യപിള്ളയുടെ പേർക്കു എഴുതീട്ടുള്ള നിനവു ഇതിനൊടുകൂടെ കൊടുത്ത

യച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു (പൊടിവു)പ്രകാരം രൂപാ കൊടുപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വേണം. ഇനിമേൽ ഇതിന്മണ്ണമുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കു് ലപ്ടന്മാരെക്കുടെ അയക്കണമെന്നു ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നാൽ ആയവസ്ഥക്കു മുൻപിൽകൂട്ടി ഇവിടെ എഴുതിവന്നു മറുപടി കൊടുത്തയക്കുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം അയപ്പാൻ ഉള്ളതാകകൊണ്ടു അപ്രകാരം നിദാനം വരുത്തിക്കൊള്ളുകയും വേണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1004 മാണ്ടു ഇടവമാസം 20 നു- ദിവാൻ ഉണ്ഡ്യാപണ്ഡിതർ വെംകിട്ടരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതിവിട്ടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം.

VII

Nīṭṭu granting permission for the issue of the Proclamation of 1853

അടിമവ്യാപാരം നിർത്തൽചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടു്

നീട്ടു്

കൊടുത്തുകൂട്ടസാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. കൽക്കത്താ മുതലായ രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ സ്ലെവറി എന്ന അടിമാവകാശം നുത്തൽ ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതാകകൊണ്ടു ൨ം സംസ്ഥാനത്തുള്ള അടിമകളിടെയും സ്ഥിതിയെ കുറെ ഭേദം വരുത്തെണ്ടുന്ന സംഗതിയെക്കുറിച്ചു ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കൊർട്ടാഫ് ഡയറക്ടർസ്സ് അവർകളിടെ അടുക്കലും ചെന്നപട്ടണത്തുള്ള ഗൗണ്മെണ്ടിലും നിന്നുവന്നിട്ടുള്ള എഴുത്തുകൾക്കു് പൊലുകൊടുത്തയക്കുന്നു എന്നും പണ്ടാരവകയായിട്ടുള്ള അടിമകൾ മെലാൽ പെററുണ്ടാകുന്ന കുട്ടികളെയും കുടിയാനവന്മാരു അന്യംനിന്നു വകയായിട്ടുള്ള അടിമകളെയും അടിമയിൽനിന്നു ഒഴപ്പിക്കയും കുടിയാനവന്മാരിടെ വകയായിട്ടുള്ള അടിമകളെ തീർപ്പിൻപ്രകാരവും കരകുടിശ്ശിഖ വകയായിട്ടും വിൽപ്പിക്കാതെയിരിക്കയും ചെയ്യെണ്ടുന്നതിനും അടിമകളും കുടിയാനവന്മാരുൾപ്പെട്ട ആളുകളും നടകൊണ്ടും ക്രമങ്ങൾക്കു വിളംബരം പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുവാനുള്ള സംഗതി ഇടപെട്ടും റസിഡണ്ടു എഴുതിയ കടദാസുവന്നിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രകാരവും ആവകക്കു 40 വിളംബരം എഴുതികെട്ടിച്ചുകൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന അവസ്ഥകൊണ്ടും എല്ലൊ എഴുതിവന്നതിലാകുന്നു അതിന്മണ്ണം വിളംബരം 40-നും എഴുത്തിട്ടുള്ളതിനൊടുകൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു അപ്രകാരം നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1029-ാമാണ്ടു് കന്നിമാസം 30 നു- ദിവാൻ ഗംഗയ്യർ കൃഷ്ണരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതിവിട്ടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം.

https://archive.org/details/@jebindp

VIII

Niṭṭu granting permission for the issue of the Proclamation of 1030

അടിമവ്യാപാരം സംബന്ധിച്ചു്

നീട്ടു്

കൊടുത്തുസാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. കൽക്കത്താ മുതലായ രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ സ്ലാവെറി എന്ന അടിമ അവകാശം നൂത്തൽചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതാകകൊണ്ടു ൟ സംസ്ഥാനത്തുള്ള അടിമകളിടെയും സ്ഥിതിയെക്കുറെ ഭെദം വരുത്തെണ്ടുന്ന സംഗതിയെക്കുറിച്ചു ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കൊർട്ടാഫ ഡയറക്ടർസ്സ് അവർകളിടെ അടുക്കലും ചെന്ന പട്ടണത്തുള്ള ഗൗൺമെണ്ടിലും നിന്നു വന്നിട്ടുള്ള എഴുത്തുകൾക്കു പെർപ്പുകൊടുത്തയക്കുന്നപ്രകാരം റസിഡണ്ടിന്റെ കായിതം വന്ന സംഗതിയിടപെട്ടു 1029-ാമാണ്ടു കന്നിമാസം 30 നു- വിളംബരം പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നതാകകൊണ്ടും അക്കാര്യംപ്രമാണിച്ചു ഇപ്പൊൾ എഴുതിവന്നിരിക്കുന്നതിൻ മുമ്പിൽ ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്ന വിളംബരംകൊണ്ടു ആയ്തിന്റെ ഉദ്ദെശം മുഴുവനായിട്ടില്ലാത്തതിനാൽ പണ്ടാരവക അടിമകളെ സർക്കാരിൽനിന്നും വാങ്ങിച്ചുവരുന്ന കരവും നൂത്തൽ ചെയ്തു അവരെയും അവരിടെ കുട്ടികളെയും അടിമയിൽനിന്നു ഒഴിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു കൂടാതെ കൊർട്ടുകളിലെ തീർപ്പെങ്കിലും ഉത്തരവെങ്കിലും നടത്തുന്നതിലാകട്ടെ മറ്റു ഏതുവകക്കാകട്ടെ യാതൊരു അടിമകളെയും പണ്ടാരവകയിൽനിന്നു വിപ്പിക്കയും അടിമ എന്നു വിചാരിച്ചുണ്ടാകുന്ന അവകാശവ്യപഹാരങ്ങൾ അദാലാ ക്രിമിനൽ പൊലീസ് ഉൾപ്പെട്ട സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കയ്ക്കൊള്ളുകയും മറ്റും ചെയ്യാതെ ഇരിപ്പാനുള്ളതെന്നും കണ്ടിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും ആ സംഗതി പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തെണ്ടുന്നതിനു ഇപ്പൊൾ അച്ചടിപ്പിച്ചു വരുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളതിൽ 40 വിളംബരം കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന അവസ്ഥകൊണ്ടല്ലൊ എഴുതിവന്നതിലാകുന്നു. ആ വക വിളംബരം നാൽപ്പതിനും എഴുത്തിടുന്നതിനൊടുകൂടി കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ആയ്തിനെ അതാതു സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കൊടുത്തയച്ചു അപ്രകാരം നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1030-ാമാണ്ടു മിഥുനമാസം 12-നു- ദിവാൻ ഗംഗയ്യൻ കൃഷ്ണരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിട്ട എന്ന തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം.

IX

The Proclamation of 1030 M. E. / 1859

1034-ാമാണ്ടു് കർക്കടകമാസം 12-ാംതീയതി

ചാന്നാട്ടികളുടെ മെലിൽ ശീലസംഗതിയെക്കുറിച്ചു 1004-ാമാണ്ടു മകരമാസം 23 നു- ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള വിളംബരത്തിലെ നിബന്ധനകളെകൊണ്ടു സംകടമുള്ളതായി നാം അറിവാൻ ഇടവന്നിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു എല്ലാ ആളുകൾക്കും സംകടം കൂടാതെ ആകുന്നിടത്തോളവും നടത്തിക്കണമെന്നു നമുക്കു മനസ്സായിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ഇതിനാൽ പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതു എന്തെന്നാൽ

ക്രിസ്തുമതത്തിൽ ചെർന്നിരിക്കുന്ന ചാന്നാട്ടികളെപൊലെ എല്ലാ മതത്തിലുമുള്ള ചാന്നാട്ടികളും കുട്ടിശ്ശീലകൊണ്ടു ഉടുത്തുകെട്ടിക്കൊള്ളുകയോ മെൽജാതിയിലുള്ള സ്ത്രീകളെപ്പൊലെ അല്ലാതെ മറ്റു ഏതുവിധത്തിൽ എങ്കിലും മാറു മറച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയോ ചെയ്യുന്നതിനു വിരൊധം ഇല്ലായ്കകൊണ്ടു ൟ വിവരം സകലമാനപെരും അറിഞ്ഞു നടന്നുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം.

X

Niṭṭu to grant Rs. 1000 to the Mission :

9 Karkaḍakam 1036

മിഷൻവക ചേതം വന്നതു്—കിഴക്കു് ചാന്നാന്മാരും ശൂദ്രന്മാരും തമ്മിലുണ്ടായ കലശലിൽ

നീട്ടു്

കൊടുത്തുട്ടസാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. കിഴക്കുള്ള ശൂദ്രന്മാരും ചാന്നാന്മാരും തമ്മിൽ കലശൽ ഉണ്ടായസമയം മിഷ്യെൻവകയായി ചെതം വന്നുപൊയിട്ടുള്ള പള്ളികൾ കെട്ടിക്കുന്ന വകക്കു 1200 രൂപാ വരെ ചിലവുള്ള പ്രകാരവും ആയ്തിനു സർക്കാരിൽനിന്നും ഒത്താശ ചെയ്യണമെന്നും മിഷ്യനറിധാരമാരു അപെക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു കൂടാതെ ൟ വകക്കു ഏതെങ്കിലും സഹായങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കണമെന്നും റസിഡൻറു് അഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന വിവരത്തിനു എഴുതി അയച്ചതിന്റെ ശെഷം ൟ വകക്കു 1000 രൂപാ ഇനാമായിട്ടു കൊടുപ്പിക്കണമെന്നും നാം പറഞ്ഞ സംഗതിക്കു സർവാധികാര്യം തിരുമുഖത്തു ചെൺപകരാമൻ ചെന്നന്റെ

സാധനം വന്ന 1000 രൂപാക്കു 7000 പണം കൊടുപ്പിച്ച കണക്കിന്റെ വിവരം എഴുതിച്ചുവരുന്നതിനാൽ ആയതു ചിലവെഴുതിക്കുന്നതിന്ന ഹജൂർ ഖജനാവിൽ ശ്രാപ്പ് സുബ്ബാനായക്കന്റെ പെർക്കു എഴുതിയിട്ടുള്ള നിനവ ഇതിനോടുകൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു അപ്രകാരം ചിലവെഴുതിച്ചു കൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1036 മാണ്ടു കർക്കടമാസം 9-നു ദിവാൻ രംഗാരാ ഒ മാധവരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിട്ട എന്ന തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ട.

തുല്യം.

XI

Proclamation of M. E. 1040 / A. D. 1865

ശ്രീ ആയില്യം തിരുനാൾ തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു

എന്തെന്നാൽ – ചാന്നാട്ടികളുടെ മെലിൽ ശീലക്കാര്യത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു 1034-മാണ്ടു ആടിമാസം 12-നുക്കു 1859-വർഷം ജൂലായിമാസം 26-നു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്ന വിളംബരപ്രകാരം ഉള്ള ഗുണം ഒരുംഴവരു മുതലായ മെലിൽശീല ഇടുന്നതിന്നു വിരൊധം ഉള്ള എല്ലാ ജാതിക്കാരക്കും സിദ്ധിക്കണമെന്നു കണ്ടു ഇപ്പൊൾ പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുന്നത എന്തെന്നാൽ—

മെൽപ്പറഞ്ഞ എല്ലാ ജാതിയിലുള്ള സ്ത്രീകളും ഒരു വിളംബരം പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന തീയതി മുതൽ ചാന്നാട്ടികളെപ്പൊലെ കട്ടിശ്ശീല ഉടുത്തുകെട്ടിക്കൊള്ളുകയോ മെലെഴുതിയ വിളംബരത്തിൽ വിവരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്മണ്ണും മറ്റു ഏതുവിധത്തിൽ എംകിലും മാറുമറച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയോ ചെയ്യുന്നതിന്നു അനുവദിച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ഒരു വിവരം സകലമാനപെരും അറിഞ്ഞുനടന്നുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം.

എന്ന 1040-മാണ്ടു മിഥുനമാസം 19-നു

XII

Grant of Permission to use Wheeled Carriages :

28 Karkadakam 1040

സകലമാനപെർക്കും പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന പരസ്യം

പബ്ലിക്ക റൊട്ടുകളിൽകൂടി എല്ലാ ആളുകൾക്കും വണ്ടിയിൽ കെറി സഞ്ചരിക്കുന്നതിലെക്കു വിരൊധം ഉള്ളതായി ചിലർക്കു അന്യഥാ ജ്ഞാനം ഉള്ള പ്രകാരം അറിയുന്നതാകകൊണ്ടു ആ ബൊദ്ധ്യം ഒഴിയുന്നതിന്നുവെണ്ടി പരസ്യം ചെയ്യുന്നത എന്തെന്നാൽ

തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തെ കൊട്ടക്കകം ഒഴികെ മറ്റു സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലുള്ള പബ്ലിക്ക റൊട്ടുകളിൽകൂടി ജനങ്ങൾ അവരവരുടെ മനസ്സുംപ്രകാരം വണ്ടിയിൽ കെറി സഞ്ചരിക്കുന്നതിൽവച്ചു യാതൊരു വിരൊധവും ഇല്ലാഴികകൊണ്ടു ഒര വിവരം അറിഞ്ഞു നടന്നുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നു

1040 കർക്കടകം 28 നു

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GLOSSARY

Adhikāri	: Village Revenue Officer
Aḍiyan	: Servant
Ārāṭ	: An important festival of taking the image of the deity in procession to bathe on the last day of festivals in temples
Bankshall	: Ware house
Bazar	: Market
Brahmasvam	: Property belonging to Brahmin Jenmies
Cadjan	: The dried leaf of a palmyra tree.
Cakram	: A Travancore copper coin
Dēvasvom	: Temple property
Dewan Peishkar	: Formerly a district collector
Faṇam	: A Travancore silver coin
Gumastah	: Clerk
Huzur Cutcherry	: Secretariat
Illam	: The term for the house of a Nambūdiri
Jenmi	: Landlord
Kaccēri	: A Government office
Kāḻcca	: Present or gift on festive occasions
Kuḍiyān	: A tenant
Kūṭṭam	: Local Assembly
Māḍampimar	: Nair chieftains of early days
Māmūl	: Ancient custom
Maṇḍapattum vatukkal	: Taluk
Marāmat	: Public works

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Mūppan	:	Headman
Nāḍu	:	A district
Nāḍuvaḻi	:	Local chieftain
Nuzzar	:	Present made to a king
Ola	:	Palm leaf
Pagoda	:	Temple
Pāṇḍikaśāla	:	Ware house, Factory
Para	:	A unit of measurement use in measuring grain
Parappēḍi	:	Fear from Parayas
Pārvathiakar	:	Village officer
Pāṭṭam	:	Rent
Pāṭṭu	:	Song
Piḷḷaimars	:	Tax collectors
Pramāṇi	:	Chieftain
Pūja	:	Worship, Offering of flowers etc., to a deity
Pulappēḍi	:	Fear from Pulayas
Rajah	:	King
Rani	:	Queen
Sabha	:	An assembly
Sarvādhikāriakar	:	Formerly a Chief Minister
Sirkar	:	Government
Tahsildar	:	The chief official of a taluk
Tanah	:	Lock-up
Ūṭṭupurahs	:	Feeding houses for Brahmins
Zilla	:	District

INDEX

Abbs, John, 81, 99
Addis, Rev., 110
Agastīśvaram, 29, 31, 107, 108, 148
——Nāḍān, 131
Agur, C.M., 60, 88
Aḷagappapuram, Pākyanādhan of, 145
Ambalapuḻa, 90
Ambaṭṭan, 22
Amman, 27
Ānanda Piḷḷai, 146
Ānditōppu, 147
Appadorai Iyer M.S., 38
Āralummūḍu, 146
Aruḷappan, 89
Arumainayakom, 100
Arumainayakom, a converted slave, 101
Arumanallūr, 146
Arumanūr, 137
Arunachalam, 23
Āruvāmoḻi, 56, 58, 88, 145
Āśān, 6
Ashton, 124, 127
Athenaeum, 104, 106
Atikāman, 34
Atinandavana Miḻcci, 78
Atinandavana Piralayam, 78
Ātmabōdhanam, 69
Āttingal, 10, 98, 101
Attisūdi, 78
Autoor, 128
Aṟṟūr, 121
Austria, Peasant Revolts in, 4
Bālarāmapuram, 148
Balm, Mr., 78
Barnabas, Crispus, 99, 100
Bartalomeo, Fr., 38, 88, 89, 90, 110
Battari, Rev. Fr., 88
Baylis, Rev., 101, 132, 148, 150
Bell–music, 28
Bhadrakāḷi, 27, 123
Bhūtalinga Āśari, 146
Bhūtanadha Piḷḷai, 147
Bidulph, Devavaram, 77, 79
Borghese, Fr., 49
Brahma, 7
Brahmasvam, 9
Brahmins, 1, 2, 5–14, 15, 19, 32, 33, 44, 45, 56, 57, 66, 71, 76, 87, 93, 94, 96, 101, 110
Breast–cloth controversy, 82
Breast–tax, 41
Britto, John De, 49
Buchanan, Rev. Dr., 58, 96, 109
Cadogan, Lt. Col., 129
Caldwell, Robert, 21
Calini, Fr., 50
Cannanore, 122
Cānnārs, 19, 24
Cape Comorin, 29, 50
Capitation tax, 30
Car Festival, 16
Caste system, 2, 85, 86
Cayman's Pagoda, 46
Cempanviḷa, 145
Cēramān, 34
Ceṭṭies, 31
Ceylon, 21
Chaṇḍāḷan, 34
Chāvūs, 35

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Cheriyan, 100
Cherumar, 38
Christians, Persecution of, 86–111
Cidambaram Pillai, 101 — of Aḷagiya Paṇḍyapuram, 145
Cidambaram temple, 52
Cīni Piḷḷai, 143
Cinnai, 100, 103
Cinna Nāḍān, 143
Cochin, 153
Cōvans, 20
Cox, John, Rev., 76, 102, 103, 105, 132, 148
Cullen, General, 99, 104, 105, 133, 136, 151, 157
Dalhousie, Lord., 106
Daly, Captain, 124
David, 51, 91
De Lannoy, 88
Demonism, 25
Dennis, J. J., 149
Dēśakāvalkār, 108
Dēvasahāyam, 100. 103
Dēvasahāyam Piḷḷai, 47, 88
Devil–bow, 28
Devil–dance, 28
Dēviyōḍu, 146
Dharmasamstānum, 7
Diamper. The Synod of, 110
Digby Macworth, Col., 68
Drew, W. H., 82
Drunkard's Story, 79
Dutch, Government of, 110
Edict of 1851, 100
Eechoo Koorippoo Sermanakaran, 150
Eḷankamānyan, 52
Ellanśśāntiviḷakuḍiyirippu, 108
English East India Company, 49, 92, 102
English education, 2, 63, 65, 111
Everett, Judge, 69
Falcao, The Jesuit Missionary, 89
Female education, 67
Feudal aristocracy, 14
Forbes, James, 41
Fraser, General, 76
Friends of Humanity, 103
Gericke, 51, 90, 91, 92
Gratian, Mr., 55
Gross, The traveller, 10
Harīscandra, 34
Harris, Lord, 106, 138
Hiraṇyagaṛbhadānam, 106
Hook–swinging, 29, 30
Īḻavas, 8, 9, 20, 21, 41, 71, 73, 87, 99, 100, 101, 157
—— of Āttingal, 101
—— Memorial, 157
Iraṇiyal, 101, 125, 142, 146
Iśakki, 27
Īśvara Piḷḷai, 118, 122, 124
Jaenicke, 51
Jackets, 3, 74, 83, 132, 137, 138, 144, 145, 147, 150
James Lushington, 130
Jenmies, 9
John, Dr., 52
John Palmer, 77, 78
Jōsayya, 108
Ķaccēri, 124
Kadaḍimalai, 88
Kadeysdile, 94
Kaḍiapaṭṇam, 97
Kaḍuputtūr, 145
Kālankuḍiyirippu, The First Catechist of, 51, 91

Kalkuḷam, 116, 125
Kāḷi Cempaka Raman, 127
Kaḷiyikkaviḷa, 94, 142, 147
Kaliyuga, 60
Kalluvantiḍil, 146
Kāmanāyakan patti, 49
Kārttikappaḷḷi, 9
Karunkāḷi, 26, 27, 35
Kāryakars, 80, 100
Kaṭṭiśśīla, 155
Kerala, 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 21, 53, 60, 63, 65, 66, 86, 157
Kēralōlpatti, 1, 9
Kēśava Piḷḷai, 17, 89
Kohlhoff, John Caspar, Rev., 52, 53, 54, 55, 92, 93
Kollenturutty, 146
Koḷachel, 97
Kōlmudel, 62
Kōp, 14
Kottānviḷa, 97
Kōṭṭār, 143
—— Romanists at, 147
Krishna Row, 99, 104, 106
Kūkken, 34
Kuḷattuviḷa, 97, 108
Kuḻittura, 146, 147
Kumara Piḷḷai, 137
Kumarapuram, 144
Kumiḷi Māḍan, 26
Kuṇamuḍayan, 106
Kunji Kuṭṭi Piḷḷai, 95
Kuppakaḻcca, 30
Kuppayam, 73, 126
Kūṭṭams, 15
Kuṭṭiccāttan, 26
Lace–making industry, 74, 116
Lazarus, 88
Lekshmi, Rani, 60, 62
Lewis, Ebenezer, Rev., 101
Lofthus Affair, 4
London, Wilkite and No Popery Riots in, 4
—— Exhibition at, 74
Lubbays, The, 101
Lushington, James, 130
Maccaulay, Col., 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 68, 69, 92, 93, 95, 96, 122
Māḍampimar, 14
Māḍan, 24, 26, 35
Māḍan Piḷḷai, 101
Mādēvan Piḷḷai, 143, 147
Madhava Row, T., 136, 139
Madras, 74, 83. 104, 105, 136, 155
Mahārāśan, 52
Mailkara, 145
Malabar, Collectorate of, 153
Malayalam, 12, 52, 65
Malayali Memorial, 157
Mallan, 26, 35
Maṇappār, 50
Maṇḍakkāḍ, 122, 123
Maṇḍapattumvatukkals, 45
Maṇikkavāsagom, 143
Maṇṇans, 38
Māppiḷas, 73, 116
Mantramūrtti, 35
Manu, 7, 13
Mara Perumal, 31
Marco Polo, 1
Martaṇḍa Varma, Raja, 8, 87, 99, 106
Marthoma Metran, 63
Marutta, 35
Masillamoni, C., 77, 79
Mateer, Samuel, Rev., 34, 35
Matrilineal System, 13
Māttu Tarakan, 59
Mault, Charles, 101

https://archive.org/details/@jebindp

Mault, Mrs., 66, 67, 74, 116
Mead, Rev. Charles, 65, 68, 69, 70, 77, 96, 97, 98, 102, 110, 116, 117, 118, 119, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128
Mead, Mrs., 66, 67
Meade, Mr., 104
Meḍalam, 146
Medical Mission, 75
Meśśiah Vilāsm, 78
Mignet, F. A. M., 1
Miller, Mrs., 66
Morrison, Col., 124, 127, 130
Mūccaṇḍi Mūppan, 26
Mudalūr, 51, 91
Mukilan, 115
Mukkuva, 71, 87
Mukkuvattikal, 155
Mukunda Aiyan, 127
Mundram, 97
Munro, Col., 3, 15, 60, 61, 63, 64, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 80, 109, 115
Murajapam, 7, 62
Mūṛtti, 35
Murugan, 25
Mutalpiṭikar, 45
Mūtta Piḷḷai, 146
Muttaramman, 27, 29
Muttukuṭṭy, 135
Mūturai, 78
Mylady, 52, 53. 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 77, 93, 95, 146
Nāḍankuṭṭy, 95
Nāḍān, 24, 131
—— women, 131
Nāḍār, 3, 8, 9, 13, 19—33, 35, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 61, 71, 73, 81, 82, 83, 87, 89, 91, 100, 101, 111, 113, 114, 116, 118, 125, 131, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 137
—— women, 3, 13, 32, 83, 111, 116, 130, 138, 142, 143, 157,
Nagercoil, 6, 7, 66, 68, 89, 70, 74, 75, 97, 117, 120, 124, 143, 144, 145
—— Boarding School at, 74
—— Central School at, 66
—— Medical Mission at, 75
Nagam Piḷḷai, 89
Nager Piḷḷai, 146
Nair, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 32, 72, 71, 89, 96, 109, 125
—— women, 73
Nallurai Nālpāṭṭu, 78
Nambūdiris, 5—13
Nānāpātakirtanam, 78
Nāñcināḍ, 16, 17, 56, 118, 121, 128, 144
Nanten, 34
Nanu Piḷḷai, 80
Narainen, 31
Nāyāḍis, 38
Nayakkars, 22
Nazareth, 94
Neelampulla, 17
Neyyattinkara, 137, 146. 147, 148
Neyyūr, 27, 66, 67, 142, 143, 145
Nīdiyuḍayan, 97
Nīlakaṇḍa Piḷḷai, 88
Nīlam Piḷḷai, 143
Norway, Lofthuus Affair in, 4
Pachu Muttatu, 46

Padmanābhapuram, 116, 117, 125, 127
Pakyanādhan, Mr., 70
Pāḷamkoṭṭa, 50, 51
Pāliyatt Accan, 95
Paḷḷar, 23, 25, 30, 94
Paḷḷiyāḍi, 146
Pancagavyam, 38
Pāṇḍarapaṭṭi, 14
Pāṇḍava kings, 23
Pāṇḍya country, 3
Parakkaḷḷis, 9
Parakkay, 108
Paramasattee, 27
Parappan Piḷḷai, 122
Paraśurāma, 1, 9
Pāraśśāla, 67, 94, 142, 147
Parayas, 8, 18, 22, 23, 25, 30, 33—40
Paravres, 116
Paris, Exhibition at, 74
Pārvattiakar, 107
Pāṭṭom, 31
Paul, Joseph, 103
Pēkōvils, 27
Perumāḷ, 8, 98
Perumanta kummi, 78
Pēyakānti, 78
Piḍakaikars, 72, 74, 75, 121, 122, 123
—— National Council of, 16
Piḷḷaimars, 74
Plassey, Centenary of, 104
Poligar wars, 51
Poḷiyūr, Narāyaṇa Piḷḷai of, 145
Poll-tax, 30, 61
Portuguese, The, 109
Potty slaves, 37
Poruthu Māḍan, 26
Prabhukkanmar, 14
Pramāṇis, 15
Pravarticars, 45
Proclamation of 1829, 131, 140
Protestant Christianity, 49, 50, 90
—— Missionaries, 2
Pugachev Rebellion, 4
Pūja, 123
Pulakkaḷḷis, 9
Pula piḍikālam, 18
Pulayas, 8, 18, 33, 34, 38–40,
Puḷiankāḍu, 94
Puruṣantaram, 30
Puttankaḍa, 167
Pycroft, T., 150, 152
Queen Victoria, 138
Quilon, 32, 58, 109, 128
—— Central Prison at, 128
Rama Row, Raja, 22
Ramsay, Dr., 75
Ravindran, T. K., 6, 10
Rebellion of 1809, 59, 95
Rhenius, 22
Ringeltaube, William Tobias, 2, 24, 31, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 93, 94, 95, 96, 110
Roman Catholic, 51
Russel, Rev. James, 101, 107, 149
Russia, Pugachev Rebellion in, 4
Saivism, 25
Samattva Samācam, 135
Sambavan, 36
Samuel Tampi, 96
Sanṅgīta Varṇam, 78
Sānrōr, 21

https://archive.org/details/@jebindp

Śāntapuram, 67
Satyanādhan, 50, 51, 91, 92, 93
Satya vēda caritra kīrtanam, 78
Sāyūjya, 52
School of Industry, 66
Schwartz, 50, 51
Sebastiyan, 147
Seminary, 63, 65, 68, 77
Semmoḻi māḷikai, 78
Shungoony Menon, P., 104, 136, 141, 142, 144
Sibbald, Captain, 123, 124
Sindhukavimālai, 78
Sipukōṭṭan, 145
Śivarāmakrishna Piḷḷai, 146
Śiva, Lord, 23
Siva Subramoṇya Piḷḷai, 146
Slaves, 5, 13, 38, 39, 42, 43, 76
—— Emancipation, 77, 134
—— and Missionaries, 134
Society for Promoting Christian Knowlege,(S.P.C.K.)51.55,92
Spencer, Trevor, Bishop, 68
Sri Padam Palace, 100
Stanley, Lord, 152
Subramoṇya, 25
Subramoṇyan, 143
Śuclndram, 16, 37, 59
Śūdra aristocracy, 118
Śūdras, 2, 9, 13–19, 24, 74, 86, 87, 116, 119, 120, 121, 125, 127, 132, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142, 145, 151, 152
Śūdra Women, 18, 74, 149
Syrian Christians, 51, 73, 108, 109, 115, 116
Syrian Churches of Travancore, 58
Taḍi–kambu–kārar, 91
Talakkuḍy, 147
Tāmarakuḷam, 31, 108
Taṇḍamuttu Piḷḷai, 145
Tanjore, 50, 53, 93
Tāṇu Malaya PerumaPiḷḷai, 145
Tēṅṅgāpaṭṭaṇam, 101
Tēṅgāra Piḷḷai, 143
Thomas Paul, 101
Thompson, Mrs., 66
Tinnevelly, 30, 51, 54, 55, 57, 61, 92, 114, 116, 134, 148
—— Protestant Missionary efforts in, 51
Tippu Sultan, 49
Tirumala Samuel, 108
Tirupuram, 147
Tiruttantamālai, 78
Tittuviḷa, 147
Tīyans, 9, 20
Toddy–tapping, 23
Tōvāḷa, 90
Tranquebar, 50, 54, 56, 64
Trevelyan, Charles, 152, 155
Trivandrum, 76, 87, 89, 98, 99, 100, 110, 120, 132, 142, 146
Udayagiri, Fort at, 88
Ūḻiyam Service, 2, 62, 63, 120
Ummiṇi Tampi, 62, 96, 126
Ūṭṭupurahs, 7, 10
Ūṭṭuvaga, 62
Vaḍakkankara, 146
Vaḍakkankuḷam, 49, 50, 88
Vaidyalingam Piḷḷai, 147
Vaikkom Satyagraha, 157
Vakkom, 99
Valiya Tuḍikar, 55
Vaḷḷimai Piḷḷai, 147
Vaṇṇāns, 22
Varkala, 115
Vasiṣṭa, 34

Vēdamāṇikkam, 52, 53, 54, 59, 60, 61, 65, 69, 77, 92
Vēḍar, 40
—— women, 43
Vēdakkan, A., 77, 78
Vēdavidhikural, 78
Veḷḷāḷārs, 22, 136
Vēlu Tampi, Dewan, 58, 59, 95
Venkaṭṭa Row, 124, 127
Vēṭṭuvans, 38
Viḷavankōḍu, 115, 125
Vīrakumaran, 34
Vīrappaḷḷi, 110
Vishnu, 89, 135
Viśvāsam Vēdanāyakom, 107
Vullīyoor, 148
Vydiyalingom Piḷḷai, 143
Walhouse, Mr., 34
Watts, Dr., 78
Wheatley, 91
Whitehouse, Rev., 101, 104
Wilkite and No Popery Riots, 4
Xavier, Francis, 109
Yesudiyan, Catechist, 54
Yesudiyan, 97
Yōvan, 97
Zamorin Raja, 95

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